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T.R.B.

from Washington

The Rich Always with Us

★ The rich stay rich in the US and the poor, poor, and the gulf between them hardly changes. America's disparity of income is the single most significant and sinister social fact in the nation. There has been no important change in this disparity since 1945. Everything comes back to that.

The *Citizens Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the US* in a detailed 100-page report finds that 10,764,000 Americans are suffering from hunger, and that 20 million more are not adequately fed. By contrast, *Fortune* magazine in its annual survey of the richest Americans finds that J. Paul Getty and Howard Hughes can probably be called "billionaires," six others are half billionaires, and 153 others have net worth of more than $100 million.

Theoretically, the steeply graduated income tax is supposed to level America's riches. Taxes rise from 14 percent on taxable incomes under $5,000 to 70 percent on those over $100,000. This sounds impressive. But the rich have found loopholes. Treasury figures for 1965 (latest available) show that the average taxpayer earning $50,000 or more actually paid a rate of about 25 percent.

More than that, as Rep. Henry Reuss (D, Wis.) points out, "a significant number of millionaires and multimillionaires escape taxation entirely." In 1962, he notes, three taxpayers with incomes in excess of $5 million annually paid nothing. In 1965, 35 taxpayers with incomes exceeding $500,000 escaped tax.

Later this month the Poor People's March, originally organized by Martin Luther King, Jr., comes to Washington, headed by Rev. Ralph Abernathy. Leaders were here last week and told the wretched story to officials and congressmen. Congress went on with plans to slash nondefense spending at a time of social crisis.

The Poor People's Campaign will bring in 2,000 to 5,000 people and boldly set them up in temporary shelters conspicuously in parks. It will be hard to ignore them. They plan to make nuisances of themselves. What the authorities will do we don't know. Nothing like this has happened since the Bonus Marchers were tear-gassed here by Herbert Hoover.

Millionaires who pay no taxes, and poor people who go hungry – this disparity is the most dangerous social fact in America today. The most authoritative study we know about was made by Herman P. Miller, *Income Distribution in the US* (Washington, US Govt. Printing Office, 1966). He divides American families and individuals into five equal groups numerically. Then he puts down the percentage of national income each group gets. The pie isn't cut into five equal slices, of course. The bottom fifth gets only five percent, and the top fifth 45.5 percent.

The top fifth includes Paul Getty and Howard Hughes, the du Ponts, Fords, Mellons and Rockefellers and millions of others, from the very rich down to the merely affluent with green lawns in nice suburbs. The bottom fifth includes the unwed mother and the poor white; the foundling, the bum and the rheumy-eyed crone; the jobless, the penniless and the hopeless.

Let us compare US income distribution 15 years apart to see the trend, as Mr. Miller presents it:

	1947	*1962*
Top fifth	46%	45.5%
Second	22	22.7
Third	16	16.3
Fourth	11	10.9
Low fifth	5	4.6

There has been practically no change in the class structure, you see. This contradicts economist Arthur F. Burns who called income redistribution "one of the great social revolutions in history," and Paul Samuelson, who said that "the American economic pyramid is becoming less unequal." True, maybe, from 1929 to 1947, but not now. "Our 'social revolution' ended 20 years ago," says Mr. Miller sadly in another study.

There has been a "revolution of rising expectations," but no rise. Nobody can look at this distribution without anxiety. It simply won't do. It explains the revolt in the ghetto, the hunger of 10 million, the march on Washington.

One final figure. Mr. Miller has made a further refinement: suppose we just take *the top five percent of the nation;* what share do they get? They get 20 percent. And that's handy to remember – five percent at the top get 20 percent; 20 percent at the bottom get five percent. Symmetrical, eh? Yes, and explosive. We jotted down – *The Upper Five gets its twenty; / bangles, booze and broads a-plenty; / The Lower Twenty gets its five; / just enough to stay alive./When the Pie's in such a plight, / better lock the door at night.*

"More Loophole than Law"

★ In 1922 Truman Newberry resigned from the Senate when they showed he had spent a scandalous $195,000 for election. In indignation Congress passed the 1925 Corrupt Practice Act limiting campaign expenditures (in as plain English as could be written) to $3 million for a national presidential committee, $25,000 for a senator, and $5,000 for a representative. Believe it or not, that's still the law today.

Every four years the public discovers that rich men buy elections, just as it remembers that it ought to do something about the Electoral College. It's like a man stirring in his sleep. Chances are by Christmas it will have forgotten it all again. Recent Presidents have all pleaded with Congress to put teeth in the campaign expense law, repeal the absurd ceilings and require total disclosure. The present act is "more loophole than law," Mr. Johnson said last year. It limits a national committee to $3 million, but does not limit the number of committees! – last election the GOP had 18, the Democrats 32. Congress could pass a reform law, of course. But that would curb rich donors, wouldn't it? – and America is used to government by millionaires. It's used to the fashionable formula where five percent get 20 percent of the income.

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Pilgrimage of the Poor

The Poor People's Campaign will not bring immediate relief from poverty, educational though its effort will be in the longer run. The Administration and Congress are lame duck, and even as Rev. Ralph Abernathy and his poor pilgrims were telling their story in Washington, D. C., last week, Congressmen Wilbur Mills and George Mahon were cutting away at an already austere budget. Abernathy talked with the wrong people. He saw Cabinet members and the heads of the legislative committees, when he should have been speaking to the appropriations chairmen who are marking up the bills.

The campaign promises to bring 5,000 or so people into the capital city by mid-May from different sections of the country. They will camp out at some as yet undisclosed site until certain of their as yet unstated demands are met. Inquiries by reporters from this journal do not show wide grass-roots support for the march. For instance, Dr. King's first approaches to Mexican Americans in the Southwest, where there is resentment over land ownership, met with little enthusiasm. Just before the campaign got under way, New Mexico police picked up its regional leader, Reies Lopez Tijerina as he was about to board a plane for Washington. (They keep picking him up, yet never succeed in proving anything against him.) With Tijerina out of the picture, there is likely to be reduced interest in the Poor People's Campaign in the Southwest. In California, Cesar Chavez's farm workers are tied up in a strike and working on the state primary which is in early June. In Mingo County, West Virginia, where a local community organization has taken hold, people are also deeply involved in an upcoming primary. In East Kentucky and West Virginia, representatives from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference have had a cool reception. Reports from these regions indicate that a couple of hundred people, at most, might be got out for a day's bus ride to Washington, but they would not much care for risking arrest by camping out in a shanty town. While several talented American Indians are participating in the campaign, they have heretofore had little or no success in organizing the Indians on the reservations. SCLC says that while it would like to attract the widest possible representation of poor people, it really counts most on the big city ghettos of Chicago, Boston, New York and so on into the South. But SCLC has had no notable victories in urban areas; witness the inconclusive results of Dr. King's work in Chicago.

The first mass meeting for the campaign was held in a Baptist

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church in the bombed and pillaged black section of Washington. Dr. Abernathy's audience, largely middle-class black and white, spent most of the evening listening to bitter tales from poor people from rural areas. The street blacks who burned or looted in the Washington ghetto several weeks earlier weren't present.

To sustain the campaign while it is in Washington, $5,000 worth of food will have to be collected and distributed each day. White churches, so many of which performed magnificently during the riots, have taken on this task. But since the riots, they have had some difficulty persuading their parishioners to cooperate. The white clergy have been gathering prefabricated housing materials for the peaceful invasion of Washington by the poor. The SCLC had not communicated with the local black church community in advance of the campaign.

The actual demands of the "campers" have still to be formulated. Thus far, what Dr. Abernathy's folks have said comes largely from a report on hunger made by the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty (reported in our pages last week). Staff workers at the Citizens Crusade, which has close ties to Walter Reuther and to a somewhat lesser extent to Robert Kennedy's campaign, are drafting other demands. They are being assisted by intellectuals whom Abernathy consulted in New York. In all likelihood the ideals which will inform the campaign will be reworkings of two familiar liberal-radical positions. One is some form of guaranteed annual income; the other is neighborhood development corporations.

The proposal for a guaranteed income will be tied to easing requirements for getting welfare, improving and expanding public housing through rent subsidy schemes, free food for starving people, and public works of one sort or another. Such proposals, however, are being challenged increasingly by radicals of the New Left, some of the black power advocates, American Indians, Mexican Americans, white Appalachians, and middle-class whites in large cities. They want money – but something else, too. They want more control over their environment. They point out, for instance, that Appalachia died because profits from the mines the men worked went into the pockets of absentee landlords in Philadelphia; they say that while American Indians need a larger dole, they need also to wrest control of their reservations from the paternal bureaucrats in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. To these radical conservatives (or radical reconstructionists) the main issue in America is repossessing political and economic self-determination. That is why they want new forms of community government.

Here is where the neighborhood development corporation comes in. Basically, it is meant to be a democratically constituted neighborhood government, often taking the form of an assembly, which would run health centers, schools, and provide cheap financing for projects the citizens want to undertake. Some of these may be profit-making; others not. In many respects the neighborhood development corporations imitate the agricultural cooperatives. One theory has it that they should be financed in much the same way; that is, the government would set up a separate banking system which would loan them money. Or the government could give the development corporations tax-exemption and insure bonds they issue in the securities markets.

These two approaches to poverty – a beneficent central government which disburses a dole, and greater local autonomy – are unfortunately cast in competition with one another. Yet they are more nearly complementary. Both aim first to provide large numbers of poor, disenfranchised people with the necessary cash and services. Neighborhood government, however, aims to reach other people than the poor, addressing itself to that sense of powerlessness which has swept the student generation and midde-class technocrats.

Before he was assassinated, Dr. King got Stokely Carmichael to agree not to oppose the march, and indeed, to offer modest support. It was a mild attempt to enlist urban ghetto blacks in the demonstrations, an effort to blunt harsh opposition to King's moderate methods which could erode what political base he had left, and which could turn a peaceful assembly for redress of grievances into a bloody confrontation with the cops. Carmichael's influence does not arise so much from his being the leader of any organization, as from his talent for exciting his listeners. Since the death of Malcolm X, Carmichael has become the voice of the ghetto. But when the Poor People's Crusade started last week, Carmichael was at Columbia University. Rather than being a coalition of city and country blacks, the Poor People's Campaign seems at this moment an unstable compound of concerned white clergy, the black arm of the Kennedy campaign, white intellectuals and Berkeley graduate students.

The organizational problems are sometimes Byzantine. One Indian organizer had gone back to her tribe in the Midwest and persuaded the tribal council to back the campaign. The local superintendent, an employee of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, appeared and told the Indians they would be getting into hot water by going to Washington, so the tribal chairman overrode the council. The girl asked what the tribe could possibly lose by supporting the effort. There was, after all, 85 percent unemployment on the reservation. Finally, after lengthy discussion, she got these Indians to stand up to the superintendent. Then she found it cost $3,000 to get a bus to bring Indians East, and at last report was desperately trying to raise the money.

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Evanescent Peace

Presidential candidates Humphrey and Nixon have called for a respectful hush while Mr. Johnson negotiates with Hanoi about negotiations. Candidates McCarthy and Rockefeller rightly disagree, but with a difference. Rockefeller says it isn't "a time to stand in silence," but he characteristically offers the President "prayerful support" without ever raising his voice above a worried whisper. McCarthy insists that the Administration's quibbling over a negotiating site, mobilizing 25,000 reserves, continuing its military build-up in South Vietnam and its heavy air attacks on the North, "must leave the impression that our initiatives are not serious and our actions belie our words. The pattern too closely resembles that of the past three years, in which declarations of diplomatic flexibility have too often been accompanied by increase in our military pressure." McCarthy said this a fortnight *before* the Administration welcomed an Indonesian suggestion that the talks with Hanoi take place on board an Indonesian warship. That could snap North Vietnam's relations with China, were Hanoi to consent, for China has a blood feud with Indonesia.

Humphrey criticizes Kennedy and McCarthy for "not being very helpful" about the sites issue. He admits that the Administration perhaps "overstated when we said we'd go any place any time" but argues unconvincingly, "what everyone understood was that we would go to a place that would be conducive to an honorable discussion; a reasonable place; a place supposedly neutral." Let the record reply. On July 1, 1966, in Des Moines, Mr. Johnson said: "The communist leaders in North Vietnam do not have to doubt what we mean. . . . If they will only let me know when and where. . . . I will have my closest and most trusted associates at that time and at that place in a matter of hours. . . . There need be only a room and a table. . . . That is just about as simple as a farm boy knows how to make it." Fifteen months later, in San Antonio, the simple farm boy was again urging Hanoi to name "any spot on this earth," and Secretary Rusk was maintaining that all that was required for negotiations to commence was the production of "the warm body of a North Vietnamese for me to talk to." But since April 3, when dastardly Hanoi took Mr. Johnson off his guard by saying okay, let's talk, the Administration has rejected both of Hanoi's proffered sites for negotiations: Pnom Penh (neutral, but not convenient) and Warsaw (convenient – this country has talked there 134 times with the Chinese – but not neutral; a fantastic logic that presumably would rule out Stockholm and Paris also, since the Swedes and the French are more sympathetic to North Vietnam).

The Administration has counterproposed 15 countries, virtually every one of them, like Indonesia, at loggerheads with China, the country North Vietnam is least anxious to offend but which is strongly disposed to lambaste Hanoi for agreeing to negotiate at all.

In those circumstances, the respectful silence enjoined by Humphrey and Nixon as cushion for Mr. Johnson's "peace moves" would clearly be wrong. Criticism continues to be a duty, and it has to go beyond the muddling and quibbling about negotiation sites. For instance, the Administration, including the Vice President, is trying to imply that the South Vietnamese are perfectly free to choose a coalition government that includes the National Liberation Front. Humphrey said so on television on April 29 (though two years ago he said such a coalition would be "putting a fox in a chicken coop"). Also on TV, on April 28, Assistant Secretary Bundy said it was the Saigon regime's public position to "open the political process to all South Vietnamese." Again, let the record speak. Under arrest in Saigon, for allegedly advocating coalition, are last fall's presidential candidate Truong Dinh Dzu, Buddhist leader Thich Tri Quang, and others. Vice President Ky told generals at Bien Hoa he would "execute anyone who mentions coalition government." Rockefeller proposed last week broadening the government in Saigon; he complained that "important noncommunist groups" are "excluded from the democratic process." Isn't it time someone told Humphrey?

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MACE's "Secret" Formula

As noted by Roger Rapoport in his article ("MACE in the Face," April 13), a veil of mystery has surrounded the chemical composition of MACE. Now, for the first time, however, the formula can be made public, thanks to an inadvertent disclosure by a poison control center in San Francisco of a Public Health Service document which gives the secret formulation. The General Ordnance Equipment Corporation's MACE is a solution of .9 percent chloroacetophenone (CN), 4 percent kerosene, and some Freon propellants in 1,1,1, trichloroethane.

What are these chemicals and what are their effects? CN is the most commonly used tear gas, causing irritation of the eyes, skin and respiratory tract. Its prime effect is intense pain and tearing of the eyes. Rare deaths have been caused by high concentrations of CN in closed spaces, and severe eye damage has been produced by the application of pure CN to the eye. The inventor of MACE, Alan Litman, told us that MACE could not be harmful because it has such a small amount of CN, and the other chemicals in MACE are not harmful. These other chemicals, according to Litman, have no effects on humans and are present only to dissolve the CN and give MACE its spray-like property.

The chief liquid, 1,1,1, trichloroethane, in this new police weapon, is by no means a harmless compound, however. The Public Health Service says that it causes irritation of the eyes, mucous membranes and lungs, produces apathy, confusion and dizziness, and can lead to central nervous system depression, liver damage, and heart abnormalities. Litman says that the apathy and dizziness of those who have been shot in the face with MACE are really secondary results of the blinding pain. More likely, these symptoms are direct toxic effects of the 1,1,1, trichloroethane.

Kerosene has effects similar to those of 1,1,1, trichloroethane, particularly on the nervous system and the lungs. It is not clear what these chemicals do to the skin. Litman has been quoted widely as saying that MACE contains a substance which "breaks down the fatty layers of the skin and allows the CN to work directly on the nerve endings under the skin." When speaking to us, Litman denied having said that, but no one can deny that second degree burns result from exposure to MACE.

Does it have permanent harmful effects? Litman invented it for humanitarian reasons (he was looking for a device to protect his wife against any attacker), and he earnestly conceives it as a safe substitute for lethal weapons. He may have fallen into the trap of his own company's advertising. GOEC writes that MACE causes "no lasting aftereffects" and that it "will not cause permanent damage to the eyes or mucous membranes." One of us (Dr. Rose), an ophthalmologist, has now seen eight cases of post-MACE eye damage. Severe burns of the eyes occurred in three cases. Much of the damage is not permanent, but at least one person has developed a permanent corneal scar, fortunately outside the line of vision. In another, partial loss of vision from incomplete healing of a deep eye burn is present, two weeks after exposure. Four cases showed second degree skin burns of the eyelids and face with continuous pain, blistering, and deep redness lasting for three or four days. In these cases of severe eye and skin reaction, the MACE was used at a range of six inches, and the victims were not allowed to wash their faces or eyes.

An additional important question arises from the story given by a Presbyterian minister and three students about their mental status after getting a large dose of MACE at close range. They all experienced a one- to two-hour period of mental confusion and had difficulty answering simple questions put to them by the arresting officers. This confusion is probably related to the 1,1,1 trichloroethane, which soaks the skin and clothes, allowing continuous evaporation and inhalation of the toxic chemical. The confusion at the time of arrest has obvious civil liberties implications.

The sum total of publicly available test results on MACE, as Mr. Rapoport pointed out, is frighteningly small, considering that it is now a standard item in the police arsenal. Reports of toxicological tests done by police departments and independent laboratories are apparently available to police officials. Yet the manufacturing company, GOEC, will release little of this information. The sparse results made public by GOEC indicate that the tests violate a fundamental research principle – that test conditions approximate the way MACE is used in practice. These tests were repeated by Dr. Rose, who sprayed three rabbits' eyes with MACE at close range (simulating police use). One animal developed a scar on the cornea in its line of vision, causing permanent partial blindness.

An experienced public health toxicologist, asked by a police department to approve MACE for police use, did limited tests, and told the police that he could not yet recommend it as safe pending further study. His warning made little difference; the police had already decided to issue MACE routinely to its men. The Boston police force has been criticized in an editorial for *not* employing MACE; the police chief had held back because of inadequate testing. The pressure is for routine use of MACE, before adequate testing of its possible toxic effects.

Strictly speaking, the federal government has no regulatory powers over MACE, since it is sold only to

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law enforcement officers. However, in at least one known case, a police department has sold MACE to a private institution for the protection of the institution's personnel; and there is a good possibility that MACE will fall into many private hands.

The Medical Committee on Human Rights has just passed a resolution calling for the immediate banning of MACE as a law enforcement weapon, "until such time as it has been proved reasonably safe by federally conducted tests with openly published results." The committee maintains that MACE should be regulated as a drug, with adequate testing for safety before use. Of course, MACE is designed to hurt people *less* than the police nightstick or revolver. No one knows, however, what the risk is of permanent injuries from MACE. Is it really safer than a properly used nightstick? Should it be used, as it has, to disperse demonstrators; should it be restricted to extremely serious situations; or should it be banned forever? Only open, unprejudiced scientific testing in an atmosphere free from emotion can give us the answers.

Thomas S. Bodenheimer and Lawrence Rose

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Report from the Barricades

Rebellion at Columbia

Sunday night, April 28, Frank Michel stood on the balcony of Mathematics Hall, under a large sign that read, "Rudd Hall, Liberated Zone #5," and looked across the crowded yard toward Low Library, the central administration building, to the lighted windows of the president's office where other protesting students sat in the windows singing and shouting slogans ("Columbia goes from jerk to jerk – Eisenhower to Grayson Kirk"), and yelled to a group of disgruntled jocks below, "We've beaten you bastards! We've won!"

Frank Michel was one of the small group of students, led by Tom Hayden, who had stormed Math Hall on Thursday night and secured it for the liberation. He had been in the building ever since, working with 200 other protesting students, building barricades, pulling up the tiles on the lower floors, greasing stairways, putting plastic bags and vaseline in strategic places to serve as anti-gas protection. He was tired and happy. He was on the committee in charge of feeding over 600 students twice a day in the five liberated buildings. Other committees handled defense and medical details (there was a doctor on duty at all times in each of the buildings). Saturday the Math Building, considered the most radical of the five units, had organized itself into a commune and voted to prohibit drinking, pot, acid and sex.

On the lower campus the black students had opened the doors of Hamilton Hall and stood on the steps outside, behind a protective line of faculty members from the radical caucus of the ad hoc committee. They sang peace songs and greeted students bringing them food and money. They posted a sign renaming Hamilton Hall "Malcolm X Hall" and declared it a part of Harlem. They, too, had won.

Inside the president's office in Low Library students were completing the task of photostating the files of Grayson Kirk. They sat on the floor around the desk with huge piles of documents arranged by their political, financial or educational content. Material relating to the IDA and CIA was the first to be copied. Then private correspondence from the Trustees and from noted political figures (Maxwell Taylor, Eisenhower, Fulbright, Lyndon Johnson) was photostated.

Gathered around the sundial, the central meeting place on the Columbia campus where protest rallies are traditionally held, over 800 students sat on blankets and huddled around lighted candles and lamps and waited. For they had decided that if the police were ordered against the demonstrators in the buildings that Sunday night they would interpose themselves between the students and the police. Nearby, the ad hoc faculty committee, some 300 professors, argued through the night. They knew that after the crisis the faculty would emerge as the controlling power at the university. The debate now was over the mechanics for exercising that power.

Months before, at an SDS conference in Maryland, the decision had been reached to take physical control of a major American university this spring. Columbia was chosen because of its liberal reputation, its situation in New York and the fact that it was an Ivy League school. SDS felt it was important at this time to disrupt a private, prestige, tactically vulnerable university. Columbia's relations with the West Harlem community, which borders it on two sides, had steadily deteriorated over the years. The decision to begin construction of a gymnasium in Harlem's Morningside Park had united the community against the university. It had evicted hundreds of people from buildings around the university in order to allow for expansion of the campus (and to lower the crime rate in the area).

Columbia was also vulnerable to major disruption because its faculty had become increasingly disenchanted with the leadership of Grayson Kirk and Vice President David Truman, Kirk's chosen successor. Kirk, as spokesman for a conservative Board of Trustees, had steadfastly refused to consider the establish-

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ment of a Faculty Senate or to create new constitutional procedures enabling the faculty to exercise power over academic and disciplinary matters. The faculty had already split with the administration over its handling of student protests earlier in the year and over its reluctance to increase the size of Columbia College and to admit to the undergraduate colleges a greater percentage of Negroes.

Originally the two issues to be raised were a general amnesty and a discontinuation of the gym. The amnesty was necessary because SDS had it on reliable authority that its six leaders, on probation for earlier demonstrations, would not be allowed to return to Columbia at the end of this academic year and that the charter of the organization would be revoked during the summer. The gym was made an issue because it would coalesce the black radicals behind the protest.

The question of the university's affiliation with the Institute for Defense Analyses was the last to be included in the list of grievances. It was added because the week of April 22 would bring thousands of anti-war protesters to New York and the IDA issue would tie the activities of the radical students on campus to the larger concern of stopping the Vietnam war.

But the three issues were pretexts. The point of the game was power. And in the broadest sense, to the most radical members of the SDS Steering Committee, Columbia itself was not the issue. It was revolution, and if it could be shown that a great university could literally be taken over in a matter of days by a well organized group of students then no university was secure. Everywhere the purpose was to destroy institutions of the American Establishment, in the hope that out of the chaos a better America would emerge.

With their three issues, SDS were able to bring into their camp a large following of students concerned with the quality of life at Columbia and with its relations with the Harlem community. But after the protest began and the days wore on and the violent intentions of some of the leadership became evident, more moderate students in the liberated buildings began voting instructions to the Central Committee to moderate both their demands and their tactics. One of the members of the defense committee in Math Hall, when approached by moderate students in opposition to his instruction to the commune that it use clubs and gasoline against the police, retorted, "You fucking liberals don't understand what the scene's about. It's about power and disruption. The more blood the better."

Tuesday afternoon, April 23, approximately a hundred radical students, lead by Mark Rudd, chairman of SDS, had marched to Morningside Park to protest the building of the gym. They began pulling down the fences that protected the construction site. The police were called and Rudd led the students away, leaving the police and the administration with the impression that the day's protest was over. Instead of dispersing, Rudd directed the SDS demonstrators in an attack upon Hamilton Hall, a classroom and administration building of Columbia College. The Acting Dean of the College, Henry S. Coleman, was trapped in his office and the building sealed. The building was secured by four o'clock. At four-thirty, Tom Hayden, former national chairman of SDS and a leader of poverty projects in Newark and Chicago, arrived at Hamilton Hall as planned. It was Hayden's decision that produced the withdrawal of white students from Hamilton, leaving the building in sole possession of the blacks. Mark Rudd and the Steering Committee opposed Hayden's decision, yet tactically it was one of the most astute decisions the radicals were to make. It effectively prevented the university from acting against the seizure of Hamilton Hall. (Rap Brown, Wednesday, was the first in a chorus of black radicals who would inform the university that if the police moved against the black students the university would be burned to the ground.)

Later that day, with Low Library occupied, the administration attempted to split the radicals by negotiating separately with Hamilton Hall. They offered the blacks total amnesty (something they felt they could not offer generally because the Trustees demanded some of the students be punished), 25 new scholarships specifically for Negro students, and a termination of gym construction. The blacks refused.

Shortly after midnight Thursday the police were called to campus. Vice President David Truman went to the ad hoc committee and informed it the police had been asked to restore order on campus. His announcement was greeted by shouts of "Shame! Shame!" and "Resign!" Evicted by the faculty from the hall the Vice President fled back into Low Library pursued by a score of angry, shouting professors.

One hour later plainclothes police forcibly entered Low Library, using their night sticks to break through the crowd of professors who had blockaded the entrance to the building. Many teachers were hurt. One of the teaching assistants had to be hospitalized at St. Luke's with a head injury. SDS had won a clubbed and outraged faculty to its side.

By early Saturday morning the administration, faced with $11 million in cancelled pledges and hundreds of threatened resignations (among them Eric Bentley's), appeared to capitulate to SDS demands. With the possibility of violence rising hourly, with the growing crowds outside the gates and more and more non-students being spirited on to campus to join the students in the buildings (Dwight MacDonald and Stephen Spender were two of the non-students who joined

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the protest inside the liberated halls), and with the faculty and student body united in opposition to the administration's use of police force, the president appeared to have little choice. He agreed that the gymnasium would not be built. Within a year he would resign as president for reasons of health and the university would sever its ties with the IDA. An amnesty would be granted in fact if not in name. (The administration was unmoving in its conviction that it could not publicly announce a general amnesty, but Kirk stated to the Steering Committee that no one would receive more than a reprimand.) The Steering Committee agreed not to liberate any more buildings and not to forcibly resist a police raid, if one became necessary. It is on the question of the police raid that the administration and the Steering Committee came to a surprising understanding. It was agreed that one might be necessary if alumni and trustee pressure on the president became so great that he had to protect his own position by affirmative action. SDS, still wanting a public announcement of general amnesty, agreed to allow a bust of the white held buildings if such a statement of amnesty were politically impossible and if, in order to protect its own power over its organization, a bust was necessary to give the appearance that the committee resisted, refusing compromise, to the bitter end. In any case the university would give the Steering Committee sufficient warning to allow students who did not want arrest to leave the buildings in time. No gas would be used.

Until Sunday afternoon the Steering Committee did not inform the liberated buildings of the "no bust" promise. It waited, in part, to keep the threat of a bust as a means of uniting its supporters; also, it was not sure it could trust the president. When it got around to telling the students no bust was coming, it added the words, "at least until Tuesday."

Tuesday it came. At 1:30 a.m., when Police Commissioner Leary was assured that Harlem was asleep, 2,000 police, many of them plainclothesmen, 50 mounted horsemen, swept across Columbia, surrounded the liberated buildings, and methodically cleared them one by one. Hamilton Hall was the first to be raided. Police entered without weapons, barehanded, and the blacks meekly followed a lieutenant through the tunnels into a paddy wagon. The president's office was cleared in less than 30 minutes. Police violence was unprovoked and unlimited. A pregnant girl was dragged by the hair down Avery's steps. Professors were beaten senseless. In Mathematics, the students were dragged down six flights of concrete steps, leaving blood so thick the cops were slipping in it. With the halls cleared, plainclothesmen turned on thousands of innocent bystanders on the university lawn. Hundreds were injured. A male student, thrown to the ground, had his eye gouged by a plainclothesman. Horsemen on Broadway rode into terrified crowds, trampling spectators. For two and a half hours, faculty watching through the windows, and wounded students still unremoved from the buildings, witnessed the police destroying furniture, urinating on rugs, dumping files on the floor.

The reaction was swift and emphatic. By that Tuesday afternoon the SDS-called strike had won the majority. The faculty, outraged, moved to increase its power. In direct confrontation with university directives the Committee on Instruction of the college unilaterally ordered classes closed for the week. A Joint Faculties Assembly (prohibited by university regulations) was established, and its executive committee began issuing directives on all university activity.

Frank Michel yelled, "We won!" If polarization and paralysis of a great university is victory, then indeed they did win.

Dotson Rader and Craig Anderson

Bickering About a Tax Cut

by Joseph A. Pechman

The Administration and Congress have been at loggerheads over a tax bill for nine months. Only a few days ago, the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Mr. Wilbur Mills, said that a Senate-approved, $6-billion cut in federal spending for fiscal year 1969 wasn't enough to justify the 10 percent tax boost President Johnson wants. The House Appropriations Committee, it was reported last week, will insist on a $10 billion cut in the President's appropriation requests to this Congress, the rescinding of $8 billion already appropriated for the coming fiscal year, and a $4 billion slice from the '69 budget in actual spending. As I write, negotiations on the details of a possible compromise are going on. Whereas the economics profession spoke with virtual unanimity in support

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of the 1964 tax reduction, today there are substantial differences among them and these differences are being exploited by congressional and other opponents of the increase. I believe it is fair to say that, in the interval between the enactment of the tax cut and the end of 1965, there was a genuine consensus among economists and laymen on the use of fiscal policy to help achieve our national economic objectives. The experience since the beginning of 1966 has so shattered this consensus that the decision-making process in Washington on social as well as on other economic problems has been virtually paralyzed. Why, and what can be done about it?

The need for fiscal restraint became evident very early in 1966, when economists began calling for a tax increase. There is evidence that Mr. Johnson's economic advisers were overruled on political grounds.

Since the pause in the economy's growth during the first half of 1967, the Administration has been urging Congress to enact a 10 percent hike in personal and corporation income taxes. Last September, more than 300 economists signed a public statement which said, in part, " . . . the growth of total demand threatens to exceed the capacity of the economy to increase total output. In these circumstances, a new round of inflation is likely unless demand is moderated by government policy. We believe that a tax increase should be a major ingredient of that policy."

The automobile strike temporarily masked the underlying situation, but there has been little doubt since the turn of the year that we have an overheated economy. Money GNP rose $20 billion in the first quarter, and seems to be rising at almost the same rate in this quarter. Unemployment has been cut to 3.6 percent, and prices are rising at a 4 percent annual rate. Events have, therefore, fully justified the warning sounded by a major segment of the economics profession nine months ago.

But the Administration has been caught in a number of cross-currents that have prevented action on the tax recommendation. In the first place, Congress does not relish the idea of increasing taxes at any time. (We have not had a "peacetime" tax increase since those of the 1930s, and they were ill-advised.) A number of congressmen have told me that a vote for a tax increase would imperil their political careers. Then, too, until a few weeks ago, those who opposed the Administration's Vietnam policy believed that a vote for a tax increase would be construed as a vote to continue to escalate the war. I, myself, think that denial of the tax increase had little effect on military policy; instead it put a major squeeze on urgently needed domestic programs. Whether or not I am right, opposition from the anti-Vietnam group had nothing to do with their evaluation of tax policy as a counter-inflation weapon. Finally, conservatives have been insisting that federal expenditures be pruned by amounts varying upwards of $6 billion before they will accept the tax boost; thus Representative Mills' statement. He and his allies are worried about the growth of domestic social programs, not necessarily about the use of taxes for stabilization purposes. Richard Nixon, running true to form, has urged an $8-billion budget cut, without specifying where the cuts should be made. Just two weeks after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., Nixon warned against making large federal commitments to help the cities.

The Administration has not distinguished itself by the way it has been trying to sell the surcharge. Last summer and again this year, the President agreed to expenditure reductions after he, or his subordinates, had presented what were alleged to be minimum estimates of the amounts needed to carry out vital federal programs. Some Administration spokesmen appear so anxious to have the increase that they are willing to accept deep expenditure cuts to get it. This has alienated those who believe that the times call for increases, rather than reductions in nondefense expenditures. Not a single Administration official has explained why a 10 percent surcharge is just as essential with a budget limited by statute to $180 or $182 billion as it was with the budget of $186 billion proposed in January. The answer is that the budget limits now being discussed will not apply to the extent that they may be exceeded as a result of increased defense spending. (The President has already announced that Vietnam expenditures are understated by almost $3-billion in the January budget.) This means that a larger tax increase would be needed to maintain nondefense expenditures at the *budgeted* levels and to achieve the degree of restraint implied in the budget plan. There has likewise been very little official effort to explain the economic absurdity of a policy which requires tax increases to be matched in various amounts by expenditure reduction. Such upside-down economics would have been challenged by the Presi-

COMING: *A report from Prague on what's new in Czechoslovakia — by Ross Terrill*

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dent himself three years ago.

I conclude from this sad history that the delay on the tax increase does not reflect any major congressional doubts about the usefulness or effectiveness of countercyclical fiscal policy. Neither does it reflect what we once thought was the main obstacle – excessive concern about budget balancing. Congress is divided over the appropriate size of the budget, the wisdom of our military policy, and the need for the Great Society programs. These are issues that seem now to take precedence over the question of price stability, and pleas for fiscal sanity and responsibility have been drowned out in the uproar. As a result, modern fiscal economics has been badly hurt.

The President's indecision over a tax increase during 1966 was due in large measure to reluctance to run the congressional gauntlet. If he had discretionary tax authority, the position of his advisers who favored a tax increase would surely have been strengthened and they might have prevailed. As it turned out, only monetary policy was flexible and it was used with unfortunate results. The situation was roughly similar in 1967. The President would surely have raised taxes last summer if he had the right to do so, and there is no question that the economy would now be in much better shape had that been done.

Everybody recognizes that giving the President discretionary authority to raise or lower tax rates, within limits and subject to congressional veto, for a period of at least six months, is anathema to the Congress. But this does not weaken the case for it. More than 30 years ago, the President was granted discretion to reduce tariffs within limits, yet Congress still controls basic tariff policy. While taxation may affect larger numbers of people in a direct way, the impact of tariff changes on specific individuals or businesses can be much more serious.

Presidents Kennedy and Johnson suggested various methods of getting quick tax reductions (but not increases), but no member of Congress was even willing to introduce a bill embodying their recommendations, and Administration spokesmen lost interest in the proposal when Congress was cooperating with the President in cutting taxes. But the authority is needed primarily when other factors might prevent quick action; the discretionary proposal needs to be considered when the tax legislative process is working smoothly.

Effective tax policy requires, in addition, a much wider consensus on expenditure policy than we have had in Congress in most recent years. A tax increase request inevitably runs into the objection that expenditures must first be pruned; on the other hand, proposed tax reductions are questioned only by a Galbraith on the ground that the funds could be more wisely spent on government programs. This puts a damper on the growth of government expenditures, which is offset to an unknown extent by the growth of tax receipts as the economy grows. Whether federal expenditures are higher or lower than they should be is a matter of dispute. But it is indisputable that tax policy suffers when there are wide differences about the level and composition of expenditures.

A Presidential Commission on Expenditure Policy might help to narrow our differences on expenditure policy and also improve the decision-making process on expenditures. The need for guidance will be particularly urgent when the Vietnam war ends. The agenda for such a commission might include an evaluation of current budgetary procedures, consideration of methods of removing from the budget the politically sensitive programs which are obsolete and inefficient, and a reexamination of the federal legislative process with respect to expenditure and taxes. The new research that might be stimulated, as well as a public report by a group of distinguished citizens, should have a desirable effect over the longer run.

If countercyclical tax policy is to work, it would be helpful also to have agreement on an equitable tax change that can be made without opening up questions about the basic tax structure. It is impossible to persuade those whose incomes are fully taxable that they should accept an even heavier burden in the interest of stabilization policy, when other persons with the same incomes and family responsibilities pay much lower taxes or no taxes at all. The Administration has been promising to send tax reform proposals to the Congress for more than a year, but has delayed pending a decision on the surcharge. Temporary tax increases of any kind, whether legislated by Congress or put into effect through presidential authority, would be much more readily acceptable if the tax structure were generally regarded as equitable, or if it were agreed that the present structure is the best we can hope for in the foreseeable future.

Finally, an important prerequisite for improving fiscal policy is to restore the relatively high level of fiscal talk to which we had become accustomed before the escalation of hostilities in Vietnam. Unfortunately, Administration spokesmen cannot be said to have taken the high road in their efforts to persuade the Congress of the urgent need for a tax increase. There is always a tendency for public officials to make compromises, and to use whatever arguments they regard as most persuasive at the moment. But by doing so, they irritate the Congress, confuse the public, and alienate their supporters. There are costs and benefits attached to any compromise. It might be better to lose on the immediate issue, if the price of success is permanently to impair public confidence in fiscal policy.

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Bargaining with Hanoi

by David Halberstam

It is an unreal and deceptive time; we seem to be suspended on the brink of peace, as if somehow the war were over. Just like that, done one Sunday night over television. Yet there is a special irony here, for since the Tet offensive the war in any real sense for us *has* been over. Washington, for the first time, I think, now recognizes the resilience of Hanoi and the Viet Cong, the fact that to a large degree we have been fighting the birth rate of that country. What I doubt is whether either Washington or the American people have recognized how tough the enemy is going to be, how Hanoi views the respective positions, how willing and able Hanoi is going to be to continue the war. We think it would be magnanimous to let the Viet Cong sit at the table; they think the war is won. No easy settlement lies ahead, no partition at the 15th parallel. We're moving from one painful period to another equally painful.

Like the French before us, we control the ground we stand on, nothing more. For many tormented years we have talked about political progress in the South, but made none, for the political problems of Indochina are insoluble to Westerners. The dynamism of the Viet Cong has not been depleted by our enormous firepower. At a high price, we created over three painful years a small and fragile pacification program. The Tet offensive destroyed it. This was no small, temporary defeat, reversible by calling up another squadron of tanks. In this very special and different war, it was a defeat of consummate magnitude, for they have extended to an extraordinary degree their control over the people in rural areas. In those tiny villages, the Viet Cong have again discouraged our Vietnamese and encouraged their own. Viet Cong defections have fallen off sharply. Losses in the Tet offensive have already been replaced. The Viet Cong continue to occupy, virtually without challenge, villages you never heard of, villages unmentioned in the American papers. Spread thin like the French before us, we are poised at Khesanh and the cities and the base camps, while the enemy has been squeezing the countryside. (We call Khesanh a victory. I believe our adversaries never intended to take it. The price was too high for too little; a prolonged attack there might have united this divided America.) But as they squeeze the countryside, driving our Vietnamese more and more to district towns, the VC will gather more recruits; as they recruit more they will be able to risk more.

Despite the claims made in Washington and Saigon that Tet was a death rattle, the communists' Ardennes offensive, it will be easier henceforth, not harder, for them to mount another similar offensive. Their military intelligence on us will increase as they control more and more of the countryside; ours on them will decrease. We will be confined – even with a marginal troop increase – to base camps and isolated strong points, again like the French before us. The enemy will come closer to the mouths of these base camps, laying ambushes, planting mines right outside them until we become increasingly dependent on air as a means of travel, thus giving them an even firmer grip on the terrain and the people. ("The enemy," Vo Nguyen Giap wrote 16 years ago, in the first war, "will pass slowly from the offensive to the defensive. The blitzkrieg will transform itself into a war of long duration. Thus the enemy will be caught in a dilemma: he has to drag out the war in order to win it and does not possess on the other hand, the psychological and political means to fight a long drawn out war. . . .") This has happened before: first to the French; then in late 1963, when the Viet Cong took control of the Mekong Delta without the American command in Saigon knowing it and with few shots fired. In those days there was a very knowledgeable Catholic priest who led his own private army with a good deal of success. "Yes," he said, when I asked him about the ambushes, "they have us in the caves and now they want to keep us there."

I mention this history because it bears on my judgment that peace is not likely to break out this year, and that its achievement will be far more difficult than even the most pessimistic columnists appreciate. The enemy is not only convinced that he has won the war; he has the passion, the resources, and I suspect, the desire, to continue the war until he gets exactly what he wants. He will come to peace talks remembering with bitterness what happened at Geneva 14 years ago. We may imagine that somehow we gave in to the communists there in 1954. They feel they were about to take the entire country, and were cheated out of it. They are not about to settle for very much less; and, I suspect, given their control of the population, they will be willing to keep the war going until they get what in essence is victory.

It has been one of this war's unique features that it has lent itself to so much official self-deception – not just for a couple of weeks, but for years. What the

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Viet Cong did to the South Vietnamese Army in 1962 and 1963 was obvious to the peasants early in the game but did not become apparent to the American generals until very late 1964.

The subtleties of a political war do not show up in statistics. For example, a VC battalion of 600 attacks a South Vietnamese outpost 20 miles from Saigon; it is a tough battle, but finally heavy American airpower is called in; the VC are driven off; 200 VC and only 30 of our Vietnamese are dead. In Saigon that night, a victory is proclaimed: *the enemy sustained very heavy losses.* But in the context of a political war, no victory has been won. What has been shown is that a battalion of Viet Cong can strike a government post close to Saigon without one single peasant warning the post; the government has been shown to have no real control over the population.

In the highly mobile desert warfare between Arabs and Israelis, if one side is stronger than the other it will be obvious within 24 hours. In the complex revolutionary war of Vietnam, if one side is on the whole stronger it may rarely show, because the weaker side (weaker politically) controls the airpower, the artillery; it can always take the turf if it makes the effort. Thus, the US mission in Saigon has spent a good deal of time pointing out that the Tet offensive was a psychological ploy. What is overlooked is that a great deal that the enemy does, and does effectively, is invisible to Western eyes. The claim that Tet was simply a propaganda maneuver minimizes what they actually did, and overrates much of what we did. For the past six years, the VC have fought to achieve precisely this – a powerful psychological effect on Vietnamese people.

Washington suffers less from a credibility gap than a reality gap. Our leaders are not lying, not distorting so as to mislead the public (that which they distort for the public they have already subconsciously distorted for themselves). They believe what they say. They are, nevertheless, wrong and have been wrong from the start. If the war goes on for five more years they will be wrong for five more years. They understand neither the war, nor the enemy, nor their allies. We have been trapped by the felt need to justify our previous estimates of what we and they could do. Some of my friends in Saigon used to complain bitterly that what Ambassador Bunker said in his private dinners with the press was what he said in public. But if Mr. Bunker began to doubt, the doubt would not have remained private for long, not with communications as they are. Besides, once you take the first step toward doubt, the rest follows as surely as if ordained. The moment our ambassador began to believe that correspondent Peter Arnett might be right about the quality of the South Vietnamese troops (and thus Westmoreland wrong), the entire commitment might crumble. So happily for the Washington reporting system, the ambassador chose to believe Westmoreland.

Semi-hawkish reporters become semi-dovish, because of what they see; whereas the officials, often because they lack personal experience of the country and the people, start out semi-hawkish and get more hawkish as they need to justify what they have said.

There is a pattern of official behavior one can trace: X was loyal; he joined the government in 1961, worked on Vietnam programming in a time which now seems light years away, when the US had a small commitment to help South Vietnam help itself (moral for those years: if you are prepared to join in a small war you must be prepared to accept a small defeat). By 1963, X began to wonder how "limited" the war was to be and whether it was worth the cost. The more he looked, the more flaws he saw, but he stayed loyal. He simply tried to point out the flaws to his colleagues. By 1965, he had concluded the whole enterprise was hopeless. He felt totally without influence and left the government. Was his place filled? Yes, by Y, who took over the job understanding the new commitment and the uses of massive power in Vietnam, and who in accepting the new position accepted all the premises which went with it. Exit Arthur Goldberg, following McNamara, Richard Goodwin, Ted Sorensen, Bill Moyers, Roger Hilsman, James Thomson, Mike Forrestal.

The slots that have been vacated can now be filled with men who have a stake in believing the war will be won, who have said publicly it will be won, and who look for evidence that they are right. Walt W. Rostow is the classic example; he has been predicting the imminent collapse of the Viet Cong since 1965, when he told a friend of mine that it would take only six weeks. He has made similar predictions ever since. The Viet Cong have not collapsed, but neither has Rostow. If a field official wants to report to Rostow, he must get the positive news in first, because Rostow will turn off once the darker side comes on. Thus does the team insulate itself from undermining doubts, from reality. And when asked where they get their information, the team answers: General Westmoreland. And then Westmoreland goes too.

One of the most incisive analyses of the Second Indochina war I know came in a recent National Educational Television conversation among four newsmen. Peter Arnett, probably the most distinguished reporter of the war (he has won one Pulitzer and deserves a second), was asked to comment on the following statement: "Ambassador Bunker has said that he bases

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much of his optimism on statistics – improved statistics – such as increased number of enemy killed, increased number of VC defectors. How valid do you think these statistics are as indicators of real progress?"

Arnett replied: "Well I really feel that many in the Administration – and that's the senior military commanders, are looking at Vietnam in conventional terms. General Westmoreland in other words when he looks at the battle of Dak To at the DMZ sees it in terms of World War II. . . . So in Dak To for example when four regiments of enemy troops gathered around that mountain valley, General Westmoreland's analysis of the situation was that they were determined to overthrow the Dak To area, control it, and use it as some kind of supply base and entry port around the border. Others look at it, I do and many officers in the field look at it, from the point of view that the NVA were in that region – the North Vietnamese were there to attract American forces up and fight them in the hills which is the best possible battle ground for them. Also they're interested in pulling American troops from the populated area – get them away from the pacification program by moving them from the people thereby letting the communist guerrillas go back to their people and begin working them again. . . . If the communists indeed did have the objective that Westmoreland thought, of taking Dak To, well, they failed in their objective and they lost an estimated, a body count of 1,400 dead. That means they were decisively beaten and they were driven back into their sanctuary, Cambodia, therefore it was a great success for us. But if you look at it from the other point of view, that their main objective was to engage Americans in the worst possible terrain for the Americans, fight them, get big headlines in the United States and kill a lot and actually pay less in their own lives than they would in an open area like the Mekong Delta or the coast, and also if they intended to pull Americans out of populated areas . . . then they had quite a success."

The American military establishment in Saigon has consistently underestimated the capacity, the intent and the psychology of the enemy, and consistently overestimated the capacity and effectiveness of the Vietnamese fighting on its own side, believing its own and its allies' reports and statistics, never questioning too closely for fear of what it might learn. In order to justify its earlier forecasts, it has systematically encouraged positive reporting. The best reporters in Vietnam have spent at least two years there and have assembled a dozen or so Americans and Vietnamese whose judgment they trust, who have been proved right, and who will, if protected, speak candidly. Military reporting is very different; it is inferior officer reporting to superior officer, statistics passed up, pessimism played down, doubts filtered out, little evaluation of the source. Those officials who have tried to work independently and report independently have not found it easy. "You'll have to tone down your criticism of the South Vietnamese Army," one American was told about a year ago by a sympathetic superior, "I can't protect you any more."

Westmoreland has been a classic example. Tall, handsome, able; considered even before his appointment a likely chief of staff, he is not someone to whom you send bad news without very careful consideration. Westmoreland has been surrounded by concentric circles of generals, colonels, lieutenant-colonels, each protecting him from the negative. At briefings, Westmoreland had little interest in complicated theories about the social fabric of the war; he was quickly bored by any discussion of the faults of the South Vietnamese Army, but fascinated for more than an hour by a discussion of a new way of smoking the Viet Cong out of their tunnels. The doubters and dissenters eased off for Westmoreland, in order to get a hearing. Getting through to him was not easy. He could leave a briefing with a known dissenter thinking that *even the dissenter was optimistic*. He never understood the journalists' completely different evaluation of the war. He was finally convinced, and said so publicly, that there was a cynical element in the Saigon press crew.

On and on it goes. An excellent reporter like R. W. Apple of *The New York Times* writes a detailed story last August on how the war has been stalemated. Ambassador Bunker is annoyed, tells Westmoreland that he would like to see evidence of American progress in the last two years. So the word goes out to every corps area, and division staffs stay up most of one night grinding out evidence of US accomplishments (which exist, though whether this means that the war is being won is another thing). Some of the evidence is flown to Saigon during the night by jet and, when Bunker walks into his office the next day it is there, stacks of it, well-organized, proving just what the mission wanted to hear.

If there was the rare South Vietnamese Army victory, Westmoreland would excitedly ask, was the press there?, was Arnett there?, was the *Times* there? More often than not, the answer would be no, because the press learned long ago that you cover as best you can the whole, not the isolated episode. But in Westmoreland's eyes, this simply confirmed the cynicism of the press.

So now we are haggling about where to meet the North Vietnamese to talk about peace. Despite the surging stock market, the polite things some presidential candidates are saying about the President, and the confident murmurs of the new Secretary of Defense, the way will be long and hard. And one reason is that those who should be best informed on Vietnam have been least informed.

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Why I Am for Reagan

by Frank S. Meyer

When some months ago Ronald Reagan and Robert Kennedy appeared jointly on satellite television to answer the questions of an international group of undergraduates assembled in London, the audience was privy to a foreview of a new alignment in American politics that will dominate the American scene in the next decade or so. I do not know whether in this presidential year Richard Nixon will falter, bringing Reagan into serious competition for the Republican nomination – or, for that matter, whether Robert Kennedy can triumph over the combined opposition of the followers of McCarthy and of the Johnson wing of the Democratic Party. Basic trends sometimes take a long time to achieve full expression in electoral politics, and it might well be that the 1968 election will see Richard Nixon pitted against Hubert Humphrey.

If that is the outcome, however, I venture to predict that it will be the last round of the kind of presidential politics that (with the exception of 1964) has been characteristic of the relation of forces and the handling of issues for some 30 years. It would be somewhat skewed by the multiple crises which beset the country and by the presence of George Wallace in the race. But essentially it would represent, on the one hand, a continuation of the practical politics of the Roosevelt coalition based on the ideological foundation of the Roosevelt program brought up to date, and, on the other hand, a challenge from somewhat right of center which would neither attempt to weld the new coalition made possible by social developments since World War II, nor fundamentally dispute the premises of the aging Roosevelt liberal settlement.

Under these circumstances the true relationship of forces in the country would not be represented, nor would the central issues of the sixties and the years ahead be brought to focus. Not least among the deleterious effects of a Nixon-Humphrey contest, or any similar one, would be that millions would drop out of the central American political process, because it would seem to them that the issues and symbols presented by the candidates were irrelevant to their concerns. In the one direction there would be an escape to the "peace-and-freedom" type candidate and to extra-political action. In the other direction, large segments would be demagogically drawn into the camp of the Wallace movement's Know - Nothingism.

I should make it clear that this critique does not mean that I am opposed to the American tradition of broad-gauge parties, or believe in the European concept of parties based on sharp and clear ideological commitment. The American mode, by eliminating constant ideological confrontation, has preserved social stability and order, while leaving open the potentialities of reasoned change and development. But the success of the system presupposes a broad consonance between the positions of the major parties and the underlying essential issues of the period. The system cannot survive if the parties cease to maintain relevance to underlying national issues.

This has been particularly a problem for the Republican Party, since, with the exception of the imperfectly executed campaign of 1964, it has so shaped its policies that it has not in any true sense functioned to give expression to the opposition in the country to the liberal ascendancy that has prevailed since 1932. Now the Democratic Party has begun to suffer from the cumulative irrelevancy of the program for which it has stood since the Roosevelt days.

The formula of governmental, particularly federal action as the solution to all social problems, is coming under almost as intense fire from radicals, and from many liberals, as conservatives have directed against it for years. I read, in the liberal and radical press, attacks upon big government and bureaucracy – and not merely from the New Left, but from men of the substance of Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Richard Goodwin – of a sort that a few years ago would have come only from conservative spokesmen. The welfare system, for example, is being attacked from the left, as sharply as it ever was from the right, as a system perpetuating unemployment and poverty. And the imperial power of union leaders has no longer the sacrosanct aura that surrounded it a decade or two ago.

Likewise, as the coherence and congruence of the New Deal and the post-New Deal Democratic program have been dissipating, so also the material political basis of Democratic ascendancy, the Roosevelt coalition, has been coming apart at the seams. That coalition was an alliance of labor, the urban poor, the city machines, the farmers and the South. The South has been alienated from the coalition; the city machines have lost much of their power; the interests

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of labor and the urban poor are less and less similar; the farmers have, in the first place, sharply declined in numbers, and in the second place are increasingly finding their interests homogeneous with those of the great middle section of the American population.

It is not the farmers alone, however, who are involved in this process of homogenization. The central social fact in America in the years since World War II is that formerly disparate classes are cohering into a homogeneous body that incorporates three-fourths or more of the population. Cutting across and eliminating former regional differences, uniting to a very considerable degree the interests of country and suburb, town and city, this body includes office worker, service worker, and industrial worker, farmer and small owner, technician and salaried executive, in a mode of life varying widely in detail but giving birth to broadly similar attitudes and aspirations.

I do not rejoice in this homogenization; as a conservative I much prefer variety of every kind – regional, cultural, individual. But it is a social and political fact, which all politics from here on must reckon with. And, while the ethos of this new American society is not one to produce civilizational brilliance, it can produce stability, sober progress, and satisfaction in life. It is an ethos in many ways the modern analogue of the agrarian community upon which the Founding Fathers built.

It is this ethos to which Ronald Reagan, more than any other man on the American political scene, gives expression. In a world buffeted by the storms of ideology, he is sane, decent, moderate. The central themes of his position are moral order in society, personal freedom and national dignity.

On the first theme, the issue identified in the polls as the No. 1 concern of the citizenry, under the rubric of "crime," Reagan would propose the rigorous and just enforcement of the laws against misdoing in high and low places, and a national return to concepts of individual responsibility. Despite the jibes directed against him by his enemies, there is no anti-Negro innuendo here. To begin with, the large majority of the Negro population is as anxious for order and serenity as their white compeers. Indeed, the new center of American political life, about which I have been talking, includes a large number of Negroes, whose hopes and aspirations are not dissimilar from those of the other blue-collar and white-collar groups who make up that center.

Further, Reagan is deeply concerned with the problems of the Negro population and has been meeting all over the state of California with groups of Negro leaders to attempt to find solutions. His conclusion, like the conclusion of all those who have looked into the problem without ideological blinkers, is that the key to Negro advancement is employment, and on this front he has taken vigorous steps in California. He sees violence and the decay of order to be as inimical to the interests of the Negro as to those of the country as a whole.

On the second broad issue, Reagan stands for the largest practicable reduction of the interference of government with the free energies of individuals and associations of individuals, whether that interference comes through governmental taxation or governmental regulation. He has shown as Governor of California his awareness that 35 years of governmental aggrandizement cannot be reversed overnight, particularly by a conservative who understands that too rapid a reorganization of social arrangements even in a conservative direction, would be as dangerous as any revolutionary dislocation of society. But he has sharply slowed the rate of growth of governmental expenditure; he is driving for governmental efficiency and a reduction of bureaucratic fat; and he has used all the powers of his office to encourage the action of the private sector. His initiatives are limited as the governor of a state, in view of the restrictions by the federal government these days. But as President, he could and would come to grips with the problem of bridling the Leviathan that the federal government has become, to the end of increasing the freedom of the citizenry and releasing their private energies for the national good.

On the third issue, he agrees with the majority of Americans that communism bodes no good for the United States and for Western civilization. He is as aware as any of us of the dangers of nuclear war, but he believes that under the umbrella of mutual nuclear deterrence the United States must take a firm, consistent and independent course. And further, he believes that once we are entered upon a contest of arms, we must carry it through to the achievement of our objective.

That these are all broad positions, with which I as a principled conservative agree, is secondary to my urgent conviction that the survival of this country requires a leadership which will unite the great producing majority. In a time of deep uncertainty, when the lure of demagogy from right and left creates dangers parallel to those of Germany in the twenties and early thirties, Reagan stands at the central point of American politics, expressing the central trends of society. As presidential candidate against the competing demagogies of a Wallace and a Kennedy, or against the tired nostrums of a Humphrey, Ronald Reagan could, I think, win the support of the American electorate – and, winning it, vindicate the basic theme of orderly progress in a secure society.

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The Democratic Choice

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Taking the Word South

Watching Hubert Humphrey practice what he calls "the politics of joy" is always instructive. "What concerns me," he said in proclaiming his candidacy, "is not just winning the nomination, but how it is won." His performance in the South the preceding week provided an excellent preview of his effort to win it.

When the trip was arranged, before the President withdrew, it was intended mainly to justify the Vice President's first official visit to Mississippi and to bring about, with the promise and magnet of his presence, an otherwise impossible breakfast meeting of black and white Mississippi Democrats at the state university in Oxford. Invitations to speak at Marshall University, a former state teachers' college in Huntington, West Virginia, and at a convocation of four small colleges in Jackson, Tennessee, were accepted in order to give the Mississippi venture the look of a routine stop on a more or less routine jaunt for the benefit of Southern education. Humphrey filled the engagements as a Vice President on official business, but he did not try to fool anybody. He was assumed to be a candidate and he behaved as a candidate – the kind of candidate which he proposes to be until the Democratic convention in August and, if he is nominated, until election day in November. "I am the Vice President of the United States," he said in Huntington, "and I intend to act like a Vice President." A fair translation is that he intends to use the Vice Presidency for all it is worth, laboring with conspicuous zeal at its normally inglorious chores. Vice Presidents do a great deal of their work on the road, speaking here and speaking there.

What the Vice Presidency turns out to be worth to Humphrey as a candidate depends largely on President Johnson, much as the worth of the office to Vice President Richard M. Nixon in 1960 depended – to Nixon's sorrow – on President Eisenhower. One of the early questions put to Humphrey at his first stop, in Huntington, was whether he had reason to expect organized support from "members of the Johnson Administration." Humphrey answered, with discernible caution, that he did not expect "a concerted drive" or "any rash of Cabinet support." His words and manner, then and later, indicated that he also did not expect what he got – an order from the President to all of his appointees, including three Cabinet members who had come out for Humphrey, to stay clear of the preconvention contest until further notice. If this was a display of the detachment that Humphrey people had appeared to welcome, a ploy to help Humphrey shed the Johnson shackles, the President had carried it farther than they anticipated. Throughout the trip, Humphrey took occasion to declare his debt and fealty to Mr. Johnson, praising him as a man who had borne "unconscionable abuse" and "reckless attacks" with saintly patience; as a sure winner who had "made the supreme political sacrifice"; as "an honorable man, after all," who was entitled to belief when he said he withdrew for the sake of peace abroad and unity at home. With this on the record, Humphrey made a point that he is desperately anxious for others to accept: "Every man must be his own man. I *am* my own man, I have my own personality with all of its limitations and, hopefully, some assets."

By invitation and design, Humphrey's set speeches were domestic dissertations on domestic issues. His subject at Marshall University was "The American Dream" (it "is unfulfilled, it continues to be an enormous success"). At the University of Mississippi, where federal marshals, the National Guard and the US Army enforced the admission of black James Meredith in 1962 and where 79 Negroes in a student body of 6,800 now comprise a militant Black Students Union, Humphrey hit white Mississippi where it hurt with his forthright assertions that racism and inequality have to go. He eased the blows with comforting reminders that Mississippi is not alone in racial sin ("I know there are people who like to point at you rather than look in the mirror"). But he has never made stronger equal rights speeches anywhere and his main audience of some 6,000 students and adults, mostly white, rewarded him with applause that hardly reflected white Mississippi's enduring aversion to anything near real equality. There and at Marshall, however, the most interesting passages occurred between Humphrey and panels of student questioners. They brought him around to Vietnam, among other subjects that he avoided in his volunteered statements, and also gave him cues for digs at violent activists, dissenters "who sell this country short and say this is a sick society."

The students had evidently failed to get the current Administration and Humphrey message that the Vietnam issue worth discussing now is not the war as such but, as the Vice President put it, the Johnson effort to end the war "without retreat, without humiliation."

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Dan Fields, editor of Marshall's student newspaper, asked Humphrey whether the American dream he had just extolled was being sacrificed to the costs of Vietnam. Humphrey answered that our intervention in Vietnam was "a rightful exercise of power," based upon the judgment that "it is better to meet the militant communism of North Vietnam in that particular area on that particular battlefield than to meet it later in all of Southeast Asia." Better Vietnam, he said, than a later "Armageddon on the installment plan." When Katura Carey, a pretty junior from Portsmouth, Virginia, and one of 120 Negroes among Marshall's 8,000 students, challenged him to reconcile the promise to go "anywhere, any time" for peace talks with the recent hassle over where to go, Humphrey replied that "there is some question whether we overspoke ourselves, and I think maybe we did." At Oxford, answering the same question the same way, he prudently omitted "I think maybe we did." Humphrey is no man to settle for one answer to one question, and his multiple replies to the "anywhere, anytime" questions left the contrary impressions that Hanoi propagandists manufactured the impasse, and that it was just the first and natural stage in negotiations which are bound to be prolonged and frustrating. "And let me tell you this," he said at Oxford without naming such obvious names as Bobby Kennedy and Gene McCarthy, "if we're going to cut each other up in America, if we get to the point of saying that the other side is right, there won't be any negotiations." In a crack at overly dogmatic dissenters, he said: "I wish I was as sure that I'm right as the people who think I am wrong are sure that they are right."

Alex Sanders, a Negro law student who represented the Black Students Union on the Oxford panel, brought up the business that had brought Humphrey to Mississippi with a question about the racial composition of the state delegation. The 200 or so white moderates and Negroes, men and women, who had breakfasted together that morning in Humphrey's honor and thereby had made Mississippi history, hope to force an integrated delegation upon the segregationist governor, ex-Congressman John Bell Williams, who supported Barry Goldwater in 1964 and has indicated that he would as soon have no delegation at Chicago if it has to include Negroes. Humphrey, who struggled mightily with the problems of Mississippi representation at the last Democratic convention and would rather not have to do it again, urged Mississippians to get together among themselves and send to Chicago "a delegation that offers the best of this state, white and black." He would probably get the 24 votes of such a delegation, but it would have been "rude" to bring that up and nobody did.

"I guess you don't know how powerless the Vice President is," Humphrey said when a hostile student suggested that he was responsible for "the failure of the Justice Department to seek indictments of Stokely Carmichael." The barb gave Humphrey his chance to say at least one thing that his audience would really like, and he said it: "The Stokely Carmichaels have no legitimate place in the American political and social scene." Smiling for a moment while the applause thundered at him, Humphrey smashed his right fist down upon the lectern in front of him and added: "But whites who think they can indulge in brutality and advocate violence against their Negro neighbors have no place in this society, either." The audience applauded again, though not so long and so loudly. Sanders, the Negro panelist, who had greeted the first statement with stony stillness, looked as if he were startled by the snapper and made a show of languid clapping.

At Marshall University and Ole Miss, where correspondents had a few chances to pause for talks with students, the warm reception accorded the Vice President was somewhat at odds with the indicated actualities. The visitor might have felt a bit less happy about the abundance of Humphrey signs ("Happiness is HHH") and the total absence of other signs in the hall at Marshall if he had known that, in courtesy to him, the Kennedy and McCarthy student factions had been told not to display any. Kennedy was said to have much the biggest and best organized following; McCarthy a substantial but disorganized group of enthusiasts; and Humphrey-Johnson very little. At the University of Mississippi, excepting the small minority of Black Unionists, who appear to be against the visible field, students who are not for George C. Wallace of Alabama are more than likely to be for Richard Nixon, who is regarded as something of a liberal extremist but has the saving virtue of not being a "national Democrat."

All that Hubert Humphrey asks from students at this stage is their applause. The support that interests him is to be sought among governors, state committeemen, county leaders. On this trip he had friendly huddles with Governors Hulett Smith of West Virginia (38 convention votes) and Buford Ellington of Tennessee (51), and at least a talk – no descriptive supplied – with Lieutenant Governor Charles Sullivan of Mississippi. Sullivan's presence at the biracial breakfast could have been the significant event of the trip. He sat, silent but there, at the head table with Charles Evers and Aaron Henry of the state NAACP, and he ate ham and eggs in the same room with at least two representatives of the militant and all-Negro Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. White Mississippians may yet be voting for a Hubert Humphrey. Not this Hubert Humphrey, this year. But some year, maybe 1972.

JOHN OSBORNE

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ON THE ROAD

The Indiana Trial Run

Just past noon on a recent Sunday, I sat in a darkened hotel room of Sen. Eugene McCarthy's headquarters in Indianapolis to watch a special press showing of a movie shot in the closing days of the Wisconsin primary. It told of thousands of young men and women who flocked to that state to help. But it was like a glimpse of the past, almost irrelevant, so deeply have the events of intervening weeks changed the political climate. President Johnson, the man they held responsible for the war they detested, is no longer a candidate. True, their sense of loyalty to the man who first held aloft the banner under which they could gather remains firm. But, suddenly, toward the end of the movie, I became terribly aware that something important had been lost. And because it has been lost, Indiana is taking a serious toll of both Senator McCarthy and Senator Robert Kennedy.

It is McCarthy who has had the most difficult time adjusting to the realities of Indiana; namely, that it is no longer sufficient to be the anti-Johnson, anti-war candidate.

A key worker for McCarthy in a black neighborhood, where the emotional attachment for Kennedy is strong and, to use the words of the worker, "many minds are closed," summed up the key ingredients of the three campaigns: "Governor Branigin has the organization and is appealing to the pride of the voters. Kennedy has the money and is appealing to the emotions of the people. McCarthy just has the appeal of his logic."

McCarthy's decision to enter the Indiana primary was, of itself, uncharacteristic of his campaign up to that point. It wasn't born of logic. It was, rather, his March 14 answer to Kennedy's March 13 announcement that he was "reassessing" his earlier decision not to run against President Johnson. Like, it's your move. Now, only six weeks later, McCarthy is fighting to stay alive after rolling up heavy votes in four previous primaries, including Massachusetts.

As expected, McCarthy's biggest asset has been his low-key style. Even though he says startling things in a way that makes them seem incredibly natural, (like his suggestion that the time has come to drop FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover), he still projects as a man of "principle," as "honest." But, squeezed between Gov. Roger Branigin's appeal to traditional Hoosier politics and the strong emotional appeal of Kennedy for the low-income, working-class vote, it leaves McCarthy with a serious problem of how to identify with the voters, with issues that concern them.

Kennedy was the last candidate to enter in Indiana but, upon arriving, he, too, found the state offered special difficulties. Right now, it appears Kennedy is headed for a victory, but because of the problems he has had trying to convince party pros around the country to get behind him, he needs, and needs quite badly, a really convincing win.

The Kennedy operation was confronted with two problems. First, Kennedy lacked an organization and had only a month to set one up. In the past, the Kennedy pattern has been to operate through the local party organization, wherever possible, using its foot soldiers while the Kennedy staff provided direction from the top. This hasn't been possible in Indiana. Of the top 100 Democrats in the state who backed John F. Kennedy in the 1960 primary, only one (Marshall Hanly of Muncie) went with Robert Kennedy this year. Of some 200 top elected officials, such as mayors and legislators, only three had announced for Kennedy 10 days before the primary.

Then there was the problem of the emotional appeal. Immediately following his announcement, Kennedy embarked on his much-publicized, 15-day swing around the country, drawing huge, frenzied crowds that tore at his clothes. His advance work is splendid (it is in Indiana). The response made him look like the candidate to beat. But it also scared a lot of people, particularly those of a conservative nature.

At a subsequent staff meeting, it was decided that the image of frenzied crowds of young people mobbing him was hurting and that a more conservative appeal was necessary. His identification with the black masses as he toured the ghettos of the big cities, combined with the general emotional outpouring that followed in his wake, had set off a counterforce. The student canvassers who poured into Indiana late in April to begin their door-to-door operations for McCarthy found, somewhat to their surprise, a strong backlash against Kennedy. It is the strongest in the upper-middle-class, Republican strongholds, where a fairly heavy GOP crossover to McCarthy is likely.

McCarthy canvassers also found it in low- and middle-income white areas, those populated by the thousands of Appalachians who have come north for jobs. True, apathy and just plain hostility to politics, a carry-over from their experience with political corruption in the mountains back home, are the dominant features in these areas. But a fairly strong anti-Kennedy strain, traced to a backlash vote, was evident.

In trying to combat this, Kennedy has taken an unbelievably "conservative" stance on the stump. Unlike his prepared speeches, which tend to be carefully prepared statements on major problems such as health

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care, education, etc., his standard stump speech includes all the euphemisms of the backlash. One morning, on his tour of several towns north and east of Indianapolis, it went something like this: First, an appeal for "law and order" with a reminder that he understood this problem because of his previous service as attorney general. He made a pitch for several of the components of a guaranteed annual income package (higher social security, government as the employer of last resort) but punctuated it by saying people must be gotten "off welfare" and into jobs, a pitch that goes over well in conservative areas. Then there was another pitch for "law and order" followed by his reassurance that he wasn't for withdrawal from Vietnam but, instead, felt the South Vietnamese should do more of the fighting. Here, he cited comparative casualty statistics. Finally, he reminded his listeners that he knew how to take a "firm line" against the communists, having learned this during the Cuban missile crisis.

It was, quite simply, an attempt to assure his strong following among white voters from the ranks of organized labor that they need not fear him as a "radical." Unlike McCarthy, the emotional quotient in Kennedy's campaign is so high that he cannot reassure his working-class audiences by his style. Instead, he needs to use the euphemisms that reassure.

The reaction is mixed. Students who go to hear him speak from the courthouse steps go away distressed. His TV spots, which also tend to stress "law and order" and a "firm line" against communism, also distress his more "liberal" following. In some cases, it is helping McCarthy.

McCarthy, who is saying the really radical things in this campaign and saying them consistently, has the opposite experience. At one campaign stop, where Senator McCarthy, during a question-and-answer period, made his usual comments on Vietnam, the president of the county Farm Bureau, himself a McCarthy supporter, said "you can tell he's not a radical." It was a matter of style.

But it is the high emotional quotient of Kennedy's campaign, despite the drawbacks, that makes him the favored candidate going into the final days of the election. This is particularly true in the black community.

Since McCarthy started campaigning many months ago, activists of all ages, drawn largely from the ranks of the upper-middle-class white liberal community, have fretted over his failure to attract widespread support in the black community. Finally, in Indiana, he is making an attempt. Unfortunately for him, it is a bit late. Yet, when he is exposed to black voters, McCarthy wins support. Bob Slaughter, who operates a McCarthy store front in a black area, says McCarthy is saying "exactly what they want to hear." To the surprise of many, McCarthy has in his corner more than his share of the black leadership in Indianapolis, ranging from two key figures in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to the only Negro state senator. But Slaughter says McCarthy is "totally underexposed under the $10,000 income level."

This is also true in the white community. But, among working-class white voters, there is a considerable backlash vote against Kennedy, much of it leaning to McCarthy, a man they don't really know but whose demeanor on TV stamps him as other than a "radical." The president of a huge UAW local in Kokomo, himself a Kennedy supporter estimated the response among his 4,000 members at 50-50 between McCarthy and Kennedy.

But Kennedy does have a solid hold on a large segment of the working-class vote, black and white. A simple breakdown of the normal vote in a Democratic primary – concentrated in a stretch of northern Indiana from East Chicago through Gary to South Bend, in Indianapolis and in a few other urban centers – makes the case for Kennedy very convincing.

Originally, Branigin seemed to be hurting Kennedy the most, and it is the governor's potential that Kennedy had worried about. The Kennedy people have been impressed by the governor's ability to hold the party organization, along with a major segment of the state's labor leadership (the "old line" AFL-CIO unions) in line despite their entreaties. This was a new experience for the Kennedy camp. It hurt in the beginning, since Kennedy had no organization and McCarthy had already skimmed off the cream of the antiwar workers in the intellectual community.

Now, however, Branigin's campaign is hurting McCarthy, holding a major segment of the anti-Kennedy vote out of McCarthy's reach, particularly in the small town and rural areas.

The unbelievable distortion of the campaign by the Indianapolis press, while it is hurting Kennedy in some quarters (particularly the charges that he is trying to "buy" the state), is a major problem for McCarthy too. He is still "underexposed."

All the polls have shown Kennedy running far ahead with something over 40 percent of the vote. But these polls are taken among registered Democrats. By the closing days of the campaign, a massive GOP crossover (Indiana has an open primary) was building up, large enough to dilute Kennedy's percentage considerably. In the country club sections, among professional men and in the business community, McCarthy seemed likely to be a beneficiary of the crossover. However, Branigin seems fated to receive an even larger GOP crossover in towns and rural areas

The Kennedy percentage, as reflected in the polls,

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could also be diluted by the turnout. Much of his support is in low-income areas, and it is the middle- to upper-income areas which tend to turn out a heavier vote, particularly when there's an emotional issue (anti-Kennedy).

For Kennedy, Lake County is all important. To win his party's nomination, he must not only sweep the primaries but show unusual strength in areas such as Gary and its white suburbs that are troubled by the same kind of racial divisions that trouble, for instance, Mayor Richard Daley's organization in Chicago. In Lake County, the party organization is remaining fairly solidly behind Branigin, led by John Krupa, the county chairman who fought so vigorously to defeat Negro Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary last year. If Kennedy can break this open, carry the white ethnic wards while sweeping the black community, Mayor Daley and others will get the message.

Also to be tested is McCarthy's people's campaign. Except for a strong arm speech, in which he defined "parity" in terms that members of the National Farmers Organization (NFO) would particularly appreciate (he proposed a parity level to take into account the cost of production plus a reasonable return on investment and labor, approximately the same as the NFO goal in its program of voluntary collective bargaining), and a few forays into the black community, his campaign has been similar to New Hampshire and Wisconsin. It has drawn a strong response in rural southern Indiana. In addition, his early canvass reports were encouraging in that numbers of voters were either undecided or not too firm in their commitment.

In the end, all could lose – Kennedy, if his percentage dips too low, particularly in critical areas like Lake County, and leaves him without the leverage he needs to pry loose the Dick Daleys of his party; McCarthy, if, in the closing days, too many anti-Kennedy voters decide Branigin is the best bet to stop Kennedy, and the Minnesota senator, after four wins in a row, drops to third place. McCarthy needs at least a respectable second-place showing to keep the flow of money and volunteers coming for Nebraska, Oregon and California, where his prospects are much better than in Indiana. Branigin has only his pride to lose.

Surprisingly, there was some optimism in all quarters going into the final week. The Kennedy camp was beginning to lick its organization problem and was moving its candidate about. McCarthy's supporters, counting on a strong finish, were buoyed by the canvass results from 10 percent of the state (they showed him ahead, with an enormous undecided vote which couldn't be properly analyzed). And Branigin, his organization pretty firm, was cheered by growing signs of a GOP crossover of some proportions.

PAUL R. WIECK

KENNEDY & McCARTHY

A Look at Some Votes

McCarthy didn't vote as often as Kennedy in the three years (1965-67) when both men were in the Senate and *not* campaigning for the Presidency. One gets the impression from the study of legislation and from interviews, that Kennedy has been the more diligent and successful of the two in pressing for reform legislation. But nothing is simple. Kennedy has a bigger Senate staff, a fatter purse, a private plane. It's easier for him to get help on bills or speeches, or to return from a political foray to vote. McCarthy missed 53 consecutive roll calls because he was hospitalized in the summer of 1965. Moreover, dozens of frauds and fatheads have passed through Congress, some leaving behind superb voting records from a liberal's point of view. Persuasiveness, patience, judgment are needed by a President in vast quantities, but of these only the last is measurable to any great degree in a selective survey of the sort presented here.

Then there is the question of which votes should be included among the 897 that were cast from January 1965 until last week. The selection that follows is mine and not *The New Republic* editors'. It is heavily influenced by *CQ*'s selection of "key votes" and "conservative coalition votes," by bills used as tests by partisan organizations that rate congressmen, and by recent propaganda that has caused some positions to be distorted. Sen. McCarthy's vote on the poll tax is an example of an issue I would not normally have included, but did to correct the false statement by one group of Kennedy supporters that McCarthy "voted for the poll tax."

Following the precedent of *The New Republic's* own 1966 survey of key votes, I have occasionally ignored roll call on final passage (or rejection) of a bill, concentrating instead on some more telling preceding amendment.

I know of no easy way to show, without occupying the entire magazine, that the two men are in substantial agreement on a broad range of foreign and domestic policies. But after all the qualifications, reservations and saving clauses have been included, there is left the stark fact that, as *CQ* puts it, "most roll calls involve substantial issues, and they provide, in the final analysis, the only indisputable record of each legislator's actions." On the following pages, I list some of these senatorial votes, along with a few explanatory notes where I have felt it necessary:

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VOTING PARTICIPATION

Congressional Quarterly annually publishes a study "designed to show the extent to which each member actually casts 'yea' or 'nay' votes – *the only kind that can determine the legislative outcome* – on roll calls for which he is eligible. . . ."

	1965	1966	1967	average
Kennedy	84%	74%	83%	80%
McCarthy	59%	83%	66%	69%
All senators	87%	79%	85%	84%

Note: Scores for 1968 have not been included in this or the following two categories because both men have been out on the hustings. McCarthy has been running longer, but Kennedy also had a charged speaking schedule.

CONSERVATIVE COALITION

Congressional Quarterly annually publishes conservative coalition support and opposition scores, which measure the percentage of roll calls on which a member votes with or against the coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats. *CQ* uses all calls on which the majority of voting Southern Democrats and the majority of voting Republicans oppose the stand taken by the majority of voting Northern Democrats.

	1965	1966	1967	average
Kennedy opposition	79%	83%	86%	83%
McCarthy opposition	38%	86%	45%	56%
Kennedy support	10%	0%	2%	4%
McCarthy support	7%	3%	13%	8%

SPECIAL INTEREST GROUP

The Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) on the political left, and the Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA) on the right, rate congressmen annually. Figures given here are percentages of the time each senator voted in accordance with test positions selected by the organization.

	1965	1966	1967	average
Kennedy ADA score	94%	100%	100%	98%
Kennedy ACA score	0%	9%	4%	4%
McCarthy ADA score	82%	90%	62%	78%
McCarthy ACA score	8%	0%	5%	4%

Note: The New Republic selected twelve key votes in the 89th Congress (1965-66) and found itself in agreement with Kennedy on eleven and with McCarthy on ten (he was absent on one).

DODD CENSURE

Kennedy voted for the censure of Senator Thomas J. Dodd on the charge of using campaign funds for personal purposes, and against his censure on the charge of double-billing the Senate and private organizations for the same travel. Censure on the first score was voted 92-5, but the second charge was deleted by a 51-45 vote. McCarthy voted for both censure resolutions.

OTHER ETHICS VOTES

On two key votes in 1967 Kennedy voted for, and McCarthy voted against, disclosure by senators and Senate employees of assets, liabilities, securities, gifts, and other outside income. Both votes lost. In 1966 both Kennedy and McCarthy voted to prohibit political committees from soliciting government employees for contributions. In 1967 McCarthy voted against an identical measure. Kennedy announced for.

Note: McCarthy said he voted against financial disclosure as proposed above by Senator Joseph Clark because it undermined the Ethics Committee's effort to make a general review of legislative ethics by attaching the reform to a revision of federal election laws.

CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

Catholics Kennedy and McCarthy both voted against Senator Dirksen's efforts in September 1966 to pass a constitutional amendment to permit voluntary prayers in public schools. Dirksen was unable to corral the necessary two-thirds majority.

A spokesman for Kennedy in 1967 pushed for repeal of the Blaine Amendment in New York State as part of a proposed new constitution. (The Blaine Amendment bars any form of public aid to church schools.) Kennedy argued that the First Amendment to the US Constitution provided adequate protection, and that the new New York constitution – a package deal – deserved adoption. Ironically, a close associate of Kennedy's, William Haddad, headed the group fighting repeal of the Blaine Amendment.

McCarthy traveled to New York to testify in favor of abolishing the Blaine Amendment.

DAR SUBSIDY

Kennedy voted against, and McCarthy voted for, a resolution in June 1965 providing for the printing as a Senate document the annual report of the Daughters of the American Revolution at a cost of $2,557. The bill passed 64-9.

Note: Opponents of the resolution said that the DAR report contained "drivel of no national interest."

AUTOMOBILE SAFETY

McCarthy voted for, and Kennedy against, an amendment to the Traffic Safety Act of 1966 providing criminal penalties of $50,000 and/or one year imprisonment

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for willful and knowing violations of the bill by a director, officer, or agent of a corporation. (Rejected 14-62)

Note: The amendment had the support of Senator Ribicoff, and auto critic Ralph Nader, who felt the penalties were needed to carry out the law effectively. Senator Pastore, speaking for the opposition said that "it infers that the Senate is dealing with mobsters." It should be said that Kennedy has actively sought more rigorous supervision of the auto industry in the interest of safety.

TAX ON AIR TRAVEL

In 1965 Kennedy (who has his own plane) voted to repeal the five percent excise tax on air travel; McCarthy (who has not) voted against repeal.

SUPERSONIC TRANSPORT APPROPRIATIONS

In 1966 and in 1967 Kennedy voted to cut appropriations by $200 million and $141 million respectively, for development of a civil supersonic aircraft. McCarthy voted against these cuts.

NASA APPROPRIATIONS

In 1965 Kennedy voted for a $260 million cut in the National Aeronautics and Space Administration appropriation. McCarthy voted against the cut. In 1966 Kennedy voted for two amendments to cut the NASA appropriation. McCarthy voted against the first, and was absent but announced against the second. Last year, Kennedy voted for two amendments to reduce NASA appropriations. McCarthy voted against one and was announced against the other.

NEW GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS APPROPRIATIONS

Kennedy, in 1966, twice voted for reductions in appropriations for new government buildings in the District of Columbia. The second cut – a reduction of $17,920,000 for building a new Tax Court and FBI building – was passed, 51-37. McCarthy voted against both cuts.

CIVIL DEFENSE FUNDS

Kennedy voted in 1966 to reduce appropriations for civil defense activities by $15 million. McCarthy voted against the cuts.

Note: Had the larger of the alternative cuts been accepted in all of the four above cases, the government would have saved $1,361,000,000.

VIETNAM

On March 1, 1966 McCarthy voted for, and Kennedy opposed, a motion to repeal the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, the measure by which Congress gave the President blanket authority for all subsequent military activities in Vietnam. The motion was tabled by a vote of 92-5.

In 1967 Kennedy voted for, and McCarthy was announced for, an amendment to the supplemental defense authorization which declared that Congress would support our forces in Vietnam, and would also support those trying to bring about an honorable settlement and favor the convening of an international meeting to plan an end to the conflict (accepted, 72-19).

Both voted in favor of the 1966 supplemental authorization of $8 billion (passed, 93-2); and for the supplemental appropriation of $12.19 billion in 1967 (passed, 77-3).

DRUG PRICES

In 1967 McCarthy voted to table, and Kennedy voted against tabling, an amendment limiting government reimbursement for prescription drugs purchased through federally aided programs under the Social Security Act to their generic cost rather than their trademark cost. Tabling motion defeated 37-41.

Both McCarthy and Kennedy then voted for the amendment (accepted 43-37).

Note: According to McCarthy headquarters, McCarthy voted for tabling the motion because he wanted the Senate to wait for the HEW report on drug prices, then in process, before taking up the matter. He believed the question should be covered in comprehensive legislation rather than handled through rider amendments to social welfare legislation.

DRAFT

Both McCarthy and Kennedy have called for draft reform, and have suggested specific changes. Both prefer some kind of lottery system, but Kennedy has come out clearly against educational deferments. Both would seek alternative forms of service, such as VISTA or the Peace Corps. However, when a series of amendments incorporating draft reforms were presented in May last year, McCarthy voted against them all. Kennedy did not vote, but announced against. Both Kennedy and McCarthy voted against the conference report on the act, which extended the draft for four years, prohibited the President from instituting a draft lottery, and limited his authority to make other revisions.

ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM

Kennedy paired for, and McCarthy did not vote, on an amendment by Senator Cooper in April 1968 "to bar use of funds for deployment of an antiballistic missile system until the Defense Secretary certified that it was 'practicable' and that its cost was known 'with reasonable accuracy'." (Rejected 28-31.)

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POLL TAX

Kennedy voted for, McCarthy against, an amendment to the Voting Rights Act of 1965 by Senator Edward Kennedy to prohibit the collection of a poll tax as a condition for registration or voting in state or local elections, and to authorize enforcement machinery. The amendment was rejected 45-49.

Note: McCarthy has always been against the poll tax. In this case, he believed – with Attorney General Katzenbach – that the objective would be reached more swiftly by waiting for a court action then pending.

OTHER CIVIL RIGHTS

On March 4, 1968, the Senate made a fourth try (which Majority Leader Mansfield said would be the final one) to invoke cloture on the "open housing" civil rights bill. Cloture was voted by 65-32 – exactly the two-thirds majority needed. Kennedy voted for. McCarthy, who voted for two of the three previous cloture moves, and had signed the cloture petition, was absent. He announced for. Both men voted for final passage (70-21) on March 11.

In September 1965 the Senate struggled over an amendment by Senator Dirksen to the Higher Education Act which, according to *CQ*, "stipulated that no provision of any law could be construed to authorize government direction, supervision or control over the membership practices or internal operations of any fraternal organization, fraternity or sorority, private club or religious organization of any educational institution if the facilities of the organization were not owned by the institution of higher education and if the organization's activities were privately financed." Kennedy voted against. McCarthy announced for on a *CQ* poll. The amendment passed 60-28.

In December 1967, Kennedy announced for and McCarthy against an amendment stipulating that federal funds could not be used to transport students to achieve racial balance, unless this busing policy were "freely" made by the state or local education authority. (Rejected 38-38)

ARMS CONTROL AGENCY

Kennedy paired for, and McCarthy did not vote, on an amendment by Senator Clark to extend the life of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency by three years and provide an authorization of $33 million, and a second amendment to provide a two-year authorization of $20 million. Defeated last month.

Note: CQ points out that this defeat was a victory for the conservative coalition. The final vote extended the life of ACDA through June 1970, provided $17 million for two years, and put a ceiling on funds to be used for research. McCarthy voted originally to establish the Agency, with the restriction that would have denied it authority to do research and development in disarmament techniques.

MILITARY AID

Both voted against a $115 million reduction in 1965. In July 1966 Kennedy voted for, and McCarthy against, reducing the military aid appropriation by $250 million. (Rejected 23-71.) Both voted for a $100 million cut, which went through 53-27.

Both voted in 1967 not to prohibit the Export-Import Bank from financing arms purchases by less developed countries. (Rejected 40-49.)

FOREIGN AID

In 1966 Kennedy voted for, McCarthy against:

– Cooper amendment to provide a two-year (instead of one-year) authorization for the Alliance for Progress. (Accepted 59-21.)

– Morse amendment to prohibit aid to any Latin American country with an annual defense expenditure expected to exceed 3.5 percent of its GNP. (Rejected 11-78.)

– McGee amendment to provide two-year instead of one-year authorizations for all aid programs. (Rejected 35-48.)

McCarthy voted for, and Kennedy against a Morse amendment in 1966 which would prohibit the President's waiving the ban (without congressional approval) against US aid to any Latin American country whose government came to power by unconstitutional means. (Rejected 16-31.)

In 1965 Kennedy supported, and McCarthy opposed, an amendment prohibiting aid under Title One of Agricultural Trade Act of 1954 to Indonesia or Egypt, whenever the President determined that either was preparing aggression. (Accepted 73-13.)

Note: Both Senators opposed cuts in economic assistance. Two explanations are given for McCarthy's voting pattern. First, he is against longer-term aid appropriations because he feels they reduce flexibility in responding to changing conditions. Second, he believes that Congress should not weaken its responsibility in monitoring foreign policy.

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD

There were five votes in October 1967 dealing with the Subversive Activities Control Board, which became more controversial than usual when President Johnson appointed the husband of one of his former secretaries to a post on the board at $26,000 a year. All of Kennedy's votes were aimed at abolition of SACB. With one exception, all McCarthy's votes, or announcements, were in support of the board. The final bill continuing the board passed 65-10.

POLICE INTERROGATIONS

In August 1965 a move was made (in a revision of

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the District of Columbia Criminal Code) to undermine the "Mallory Rule," a Supreme Court decision prohibiting "unnecessary delay" in bringing a suspect before a judge. An amendment by Kennedy and Senator Joseph Tydings was aimed at preventing circumvention of the Mallory Rule. The amendment was defeated 26-67. McCarthy voted against the amendment.

RIFLE PRACTICE

In August 1967 Kennedy voted for an amendment to cut appropriations for the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice from $428,000 to $200,000. McCarthy voted against the cut. The amendment was rejected 23-67.

THE "CHRISTMAS TREE" BILL

The "Christmas Tree" bill was known officially under the more prosaic title of "The Foreign Investor Act of 1966." It provided for more equitable tax treatment of foreign investments in the US, retirement funds by the self-employed, a presidential campaign financing fund to be paid by income tax credits, and federal payment of a part of the drug costs of the elderly. It also carried a number of riders bearing end-of-the-year goodies for special interest groups.

Before passage, efforts were made to unseat a number of riders, nearly all of which were non-germane. Two of the most important were:

– an amendment on "swap funds" which permit large investors to diversify their holdings without paying capital gains taxes;

– an amendment to raise the depletion allowance on mineral ores and other materials (among other things, Senator Russell Long won higher rates for clam or oyster shells used for cement or lime);

Kennedy voted for, and McCarthy against, deletion of these amendments from the bill.

Another key vote came on a Gore-Williams amendment to delete *all* sections of the bill except those pertaining to taxes on foreign investors. Kennedy announced for, McCarthy against.

The bill passed with almost all riders intact, 51-18, with Kennedy and McCarthy voting for. However, when the Senate-House conference report on the bill came to a vote – most of its baubles were still there – Kennedy voted against and McCarthy for. The conference bill passed 31-22.

ONE MAN, ONE VOTE

Both McCarthy and Kennedy have steadily supported the principle of one man, one vote as the basis for electing state legislators and congressmen.

In 1965 and again in 1966 they both voted against the Dirksen amendment to the Constitution, which would have permitted one house of a state legislature to be apportioned on the basis of geography and political subdivisions as well as population. It was defeated 57-39 in 1965 and by 55-38 in 1966 (two-thirds majority required for passage).

In 1967 both supported the Edward Kennedy amendment to the Congressional Districts Standards bill to lower the permissible population deviation among congressional districts from 35 percent to 10 percent. (Kennedy voted for it; McCarthy was absent but later answered *CQ* poll in favor.)

When the conference report on this bill, by then stripped of its provisions to safeguard voting equality – both the original 10 percent requirement and the amended 35 percent requirement having been knocked out – Kennedy and McCarthy both voted against it. (Rejected 22-55.)

TEACHER CORPS

In August 1967 a proposal to raise funds for the Teachers Corps from $18 million to $33 million was narrowly defeated, 43-45. Both Kennedy and McCarthy voted for the increase.

LABOR

Kennedy and McCarthy voted alike on 10 of 11 amendments to, and for the final passage of, the minimum wage law of 1966, which increased the minimum wage for nonfarm labor from $1.25 an hour to $1.60 by stages, and extended minimum wage coverage to an estimated 9.1 million additional employees. Final passage of the Senate bill in August was 57-17.

One amendment on which both men voted alike, but which did not prevail, was to bar agricultural employment of children under the age of 12, except on their family farm or on a neighboring farm. The amendment was designed primarily to protect children of migrant workers – an area in which Senator McCarthy has been especially active. It failed 37-51.

WATER POLLUTION

Kennedy and McCarthy both voted against a key amendment, by Senator Tower, to the Water Quality Act of 1965. The amendment would have deleted a directive to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to set federal water quality standards for interstate streams. (Amendment rejected 15-62.)

I repeat: more space than this would be needed to document agreement between the two senators. Other than identical positions noted above, they both voted for the truth-in-lending bill in July 1967 (it passed 92-0), they both voted for rent supplements in September 1967 (it passed 59-31); they both voted against the Administration in October 1967 and in favor of an expanded job training plan within the poverty program (but this lost, 42-47).

ROBERT YOAKUM

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Stanley Kauffmann

Sartre and Friend

This book* is the delayed American debut of a neglected 20th-century French writer. It has been put into excellent English and has an introduction by Jean-Paul Sartre almost half as long as the (short) book itself; the introduction and the text seem to combine into one work in a rare and remarkable way. The best compliment to the translator, Joan Pinkham, is that the book reads as if it had been written by two exceptional Frenchmen who could write exceptional English. Anyone who wants to certify his gratitude to Miss Pinkham can glance at the previous translation of Sartre's introduction, published in his collection *Situations*. (One curiosity. The running heads on the new version give Sartre's first name as John-Paul. Surely not Miss Pinkham's doing?)

Paul Nizan, born in 1905, was a school friend of Sartre's, published *Aden, Arabie*, his first book, in the early 30s, wrote several others and was killed in 1940 in World War II. For the republication of *Aden, Arabie* in 1960, Sartre wrote his introduction, a brilliant mature essay on a brilliant immature book. Sartre uses their youthful friendship, Nizan's death and disprizing, their hopes and hopelessness, all to give richness to Nizan, rather than to exploit him as an "occasion" for himself. The double impression one gets from the introduction is that Sartre is pleading to redress Nizan's neglect and, almost in a surreal sense, is trying to surround Nizan's book with the powers that, he thinks, Nizan would have had if he had lived.

Aden, Arabie is nominally a travel book. In 1925, at the age of 20, Nizan spent a year in Arabia. Sartre tells us – the author does not – that Nizan went as a tutor; that he was the son of a railroad engineer, that he had attended lycée and École Normale with Sartre, that the two had become fast friends, attracted by each other's intellectual responses and imaginations and growing disgusts with French society. (Possibly also because each had a cast in his eye – in opposite directions!) At fifteen Nizan "asked the Church for immortality [says Sartre]. Too late. Once faith is lost, a feeling of disgust is not enough to bring it back." Nizan's growing horror of bourgeois "mutilations" drove him to get out of France to get a look at himself, the world, and his possibilities in it for sanity and justification. When he returned from Arabia, he joined the Communist Party.

"What could the Party give to this man who had been skinned alive . . .?" asks Sartre. "We must be scrupulous about asking this question. I am telling the story of an exemplary life, which is just the opposite of an edifying life. . . . To the troubled young man who wanted to save his soul, Marxism offered absolute ends: play midwife to history, bring forth the revolution, prepare Man and the Reign of Man. . . . The Party socialized him painlessly. Its collective being was none other than his individual person. He had only to *consecrate* the swirling eddies within him."

Between 1929 and 1939, during which Sartre saw little of him, Nizan published this book and several novels and was a writer on foreign policy for *Ce Soir*. In September of 1939 the Nazi-Soviet pact finished Nizan's Party membership. After he left, the Party covered him and his books with abuse. (Simone de Beauvoir has noted that, in Louis Aragon's postwar novel *Les Communistes*, there is a highly derogatory fictional portrait of Nizan.) The abuse has only relatively recently been swept away. Nizan is now so far restored that *Aden, Arabie* is one of the dozens of books mentioned by the young revolutionaries in Godard's new film *La Chinoise*.

So this is no ordinary run-of-the-nervous-system book of travel sketches by a sensitive literary type. Its opening line is "I was twenty. I will let no one say it is the best time of life." It is a work of revulsion, withdrawal, choice, and engagement. Nizan saw that there were several avenues of escape from bourgeois suffocation. Modernized religion: "Curés, in order to gain acceptance by the young, explained that prayer and poetry are only different faces of the same act." Aestheticism: "Literature was raised to the level of a tame god who was always available for communion." Sex: "I lost myself with her in a country without contours, closed in by the great, vertical panels of the night." He chose instead to leave that society literally as a help to perspective.

He describes Aden in flashing impressionistic strokes:

> "Aden hums like some great, shaggy animal that has rolled in the dust and is covered with flies and gadflies."

He saw men there, Europeans included, as if the sun had baked them down to essentials:

> "Since art, philosophy, and politics were absent because they served no purpose, you did not have to make any correction for them. You could see the foundations of western life, men were stripped naked like anatomical models: for the first time I saw people who did not require a philosophy of clothes."

But within six months or so, this reduction began to affect him differently:

> "In Aden this idleness is terrible, one is deprived of everything, even of the semblance of art and philosophy. So life is reduced to the shallowness of the past and the dust of a future made up of habits and systems. . . . A chess match in which the living lose to the dead."

Three things had caused the change in him, had helped him to make the choice for which he had come, and to make it relatively quickly. The first was a perception of the sterility of

(Continued on page 41)

* *Aden, Arabie* by Paul Nizan. Introduction by Jean-Paul Sartre. Translated by Joan Pinkham. (Monthly Review Press; $6.)

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Books and the Arts

The Only Good Injun

by Peter Michelson

Leslie Fiedler is one of those literary personalities who has the effect of polarizing his readers. Already his new study of American Western mythology has agitated the spleen of Kenneth Rexroth, who resents a New York Jew's tampering with the Western myth. Whether such romantic antagonism is just (Fiedler lived for many years in Missoula, Montana) isn't important, but it does present the kind of difficulty such a study as this must face. There are many Wests lurking in America's imagination. The imaginative or literary tourist's West is certainly not the Montana resident's. And Fiedler, having been both, knows this. Nor is it simply a difference between the realist and the romantic, inasmuch as the American West has been and is – for both Easterner and Westerner – an exotic idea more than a place to live. For most of it is sparsely peopled, and the urban centers – Denver, Dallas, San Francisco, Seattle – are more or less characteristic "American" cities; whatever of the "West" remains must be carefully nurtured for tourists.

The Return of the Vanishing American
by Leslie A. Fiedler
(Stein & Day; $5.95)

There is a crucial cultural difference between the romantic and the mythological Wests. The romantic one is historical and its self-image originates in the pragmatic circumstances of the "wild" life with and beyond which it has grown. That image – vaguely conceived as being more free, pure, democratic, hospitable, and natural than that of "Easterners" – is now vestigial because most Westerners are simply Easterners living in the West. There is no longer a "Western" reality because there is no longer a peculiarly Western way of life, only a *feeling* about one. The mythological West isn't historical; essentially it isn't even American. The cowboy or cavalry Western derives from chivalric romance; the trappings are American, but the substance is European. One of the trappings – the Indian – had, however, both an American and European character. To the American he was a guerrilla, to the European (*e.g.* Rousseau) a noble symbol of Nature. The fusion of those views created a mythology that simultaneously celebrated our triumph over Nature and manifested our guilt at having thereby profaned it, a mythology therefore representing the very warp and woof of American moral consciousness. Fiedler's book is an attempt to define and analyze this mythic consciousness as it appears in our literature and as it has analogues and origins in the European mind.

Characteristically, Fiedler's persuasiveness comes more from a quality of mind than an accumulation of evidence. This book completes a trilogy exploring the "myths which give a special character to art and life in America." In the first study, *Love and Death in the American Novel*, he warned that he had attempted "a literary rather than scientific work . . . a very personal book, in which I attempt to say with my own voice out of my own face . . . what I have found to be some major meanings of our literature and our culture." Not only is this also true of the present work, but it is a recognition without which its reader cannot proceed.

Although the book's argument is complex, its subject invites epithetic capsuling. Rexroth's choice, however, of "Give it back to the Indians" isn't as appropriate, I think, as "The only good Injun is a dead Injun." Fiedler has come to a hero and locus that were born dead, *i.e.* born as Eastern myths. So he must articulate and analyze Indian archetypes from the only available point of view, that of the Eastern white man. The very phrase on which his title and thesis turns – *i.e.* the Vanishing American – comes from a white man's (Edward Curtis) celebrated 19th-century photograph of six Navaho plodding on horseback into a gloomy indistinct canyon. The picture is called "The Vanishing Race," a title more telling than its later variant, "The Vanishing American," because it more clearly implies genocidal guilt. The later phrasing is too witty, ironic, and disengaged, too self-consciously turns the genocidal reality of the West into first a cliché and finally a joke. Having an acute historical understanding, Fiedler is aware of both the clichés and the guilt he has inherited, and in good Freudian fashion (where else can a guilty white man go?) he undertakes to discover, in white, Eastern-made archetypes of the Indian, the inchoate mythic sources of our guilt.

For the Indian, the mythic Indian, is not American at all, as Fiedler shows, but rather a European dream. By the end of the argument the Indian, his elusive Gothic hero, has been so completely absorbed into European archetypal analogues – the Negro, the Jew, the Phallus, the Madman, all that is Byronic, primitive, or outré – that he exists *only* as an alien mythic category. But Fiedler cannot of course be responsible for the Indian's existential image. He is writing about the dichotomous romantic imagination, the simultaneous impulse to civilization and primitivism. He is studying the transplanted European mind, the Easterner whose Sisyphusian destiny it is to turn all Wests to Easts. The mythic Western, for him, is the Euro-American masculine dream of escape to the primordial garden with a benignly savage male companion, which idyllic liaison is threatened and usually destroyed by women, who want to cultivate the garden, domesticate the man, and emasculate or exorcise the savage.

There is much difficulty in articulat-

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—JOHN BARKHAM, *Saturday Review Syndicate*

HISTORY OF THE COLD WAR

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By ANDRÉ FONTAINE

Foreign Editor, *Le Monde*
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ing the full complexity of archetypes that have not yet been locked into mythological schemes, as the Greek or Arthurian ones have. Fiedler is trying to construct schemes and categories for Western mythology that will permit its interpretation. Finally, however, these are white European (Jungian, Freudian) categories and ironically emphasize just how completely the white man has erased the Indian's visibility. When one of our most prominent critics can write an imaginative study of the Indian in American literature and never take the *Indian* point of view seriously, we have an index of the extent to which white reality – no matter how rightly examined – is *white* reality. And the ease with which Fiedler's Indian changes shape and color explains not only his book's Gothic character and his hero's elusiveness, but also how the Vanishing American, whose return he sees in our current madhouse literature, is largely an invention of the white psyche.

Dionysian energy and imagination make Fiedler's criticism go. *The Return of the Vanishing American* wants to act as a catalyst for thought rather than as its formalizer, and that is its excitement. Fiedler begins as a philosopher of mythic American literature, defining the Indian myth as an idol of the European mind, establishing basic American mythopoeic categories, locating the origin and history of his subject – the European discovery and Gothicising of the geographic and mythic West.

> "It is a *Pagan* Paradise Regained that Americans have dreamed in the forests of the New World, a natural Eden lost when Christianity intervened – which means when woman intervened, when Hannah Dustin [who killed ten Indian captors] appeared, with her righteousness and sexual fears, the gloomy figure of Cotton Mather following close behind her, ready to justify her killer-role with appropriate scriptural quotations.
>
> "There are, finally, two archetypal versions of the Fall in the Garden: one inherited from the Old World, one created in the New. In the first, Man and Woman are portrayed living at peace in an Earthly Paradise until the Serpent enters; in the second, Man and Serpent are presented as cohabiting amicably until Woman comes on the scene. For the Indian *is the serpent* – not only to the orthodox Christian imagination, to which the savages are "fierce Dragons," but to the heterodox mythic mind of Americans as well. We recall that Henry [Alexander Henry, whose *Adventures* tell of his wilderness companionship with the Indian, Wawatam] describes Wawatam in one place blowing tobacco smoke toward a presumably offended snake, who, he explains, is his 'grandfather'."

He assumes the centrality of myth, relying on his own previous work and that of the whole Jungian tradition to justify that assumption. Consequently, the business of the mythologist is to try to see mythic potential in imaginative documents and organize a coherent pattern from them. This method must of course often be more suggestive than conclusive. When, for example, Fiedler wants to show that the racism of American Indian mythology comes from European antecedents, he goes to the cream of that tradition and presents Shakespeare's *The Tempest* as "a violent attack on the whole Indian race, disguised as a Mystery *Play.*" He is perhaps excessively shrill here, but not so much as to invalidate his argument that Shakespeare images Caliban as a savage Indian monster, as all that the Northern European mind feared and desired. Fiedler concludes this unique premise thus:

> "But *The Tempest* is judgment as well as history in mythological form; it is Europe judging and rejecting not only that native American, the Indian, but all the White Americans to come, who will – inevitably – remake themselves in the Indian's image. Yet the rejection is not finally a total one '. . . this thing of darkness'. Prospero says . . . 'I acknowledge mine'."

The point is not that Shakespeare was a racist, but that the mind of an age can be found in its art and that that art in turn feeds the mind of its own and future ages, and that through such evolution cultural mythologies are created. Critical control comes in keep-

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ing such subject matter within a dialectical framework.

And it is in the tension between dialectical control and Dionysian insight that a structural ambivalence in Fiedler's argument occurs. He will doubtless be criticized, as he often is, for being too free with analytic method. But (to make sure he can't win) I think that in this book he hasn't been free enough, that his perceptions are constricted by his dialectic. In trying to show the reality of the Indian myth, for example, the first half of his argument has pressured myth into category; the second half is an attempt to work it out of history and back into contemporary American literature and life. But rather than decategorizing, he assumes the voice of prophecy, to not only describe past myths and identify them in the present, but to prescribe their necessary future as well. Myth has become a moral imperative. Which would be all right, but for the fact that its future character, he seems to feel, must be determined by its past; that is, it must somehow find its logical conclusion. Our classic writers, he says, have failed the Western Dream by, in one way or another, diluting it. Here, for example, is his assessment of Cooper:

> "Among our classic writers, only Fenimore Cooper made a major effort at creating art out of the basic myths of American life. But Cooper disconcertingly condemned his own kind of fiction to extinction by predicting the disappearance of the 'New Man' . . . represented by his Natty Bumppo – along with that of the Indian himself.
>
> " 'When I am gone', Natty says in *The Prairie*, 'there will be an end of my race'. The word 'race' is ambiguous, but there is no doubt that for Cooper he, like Chingachgook, was a Vanishing American – disappearing from our literature as well as our life, therefore taking any possibility of other Westerns into the sunset with him."

But Cooper, for all his melodrama, knew the mythic reality that Fiedler wants only partially to confront – even though he himself has defined it – that the myth of the West came from moral imagination rather than history, and that when the moral imagination changes, as it has done so profoundly in the last hundred years, so too must its archetypes and the mythology which gives them coherence. By subsuming all imagination into myth, Fiedler has supposed a continuous line of imaginative development. Cooper had to have *felt* the falseness of the cosmic view that made West a symbolic direction; now we are more certain of its falseness. When we ran off the edge of the geographical West, we were finally persuaded that the world really was round and just another planet whirling through space. So not only had we lost the transcendental "up" as a vital symbol, but also the mythical blood-red sunset West.

Fiedler, however, sees a New Western emerging in such writers as John Barth and Ken Kesey. It is, he thinks, based on parody of the Old Western, and is an extension of the archetypal myth he defines. In Barth's desentimentalizing of the Indian Maid (*The Sot-*

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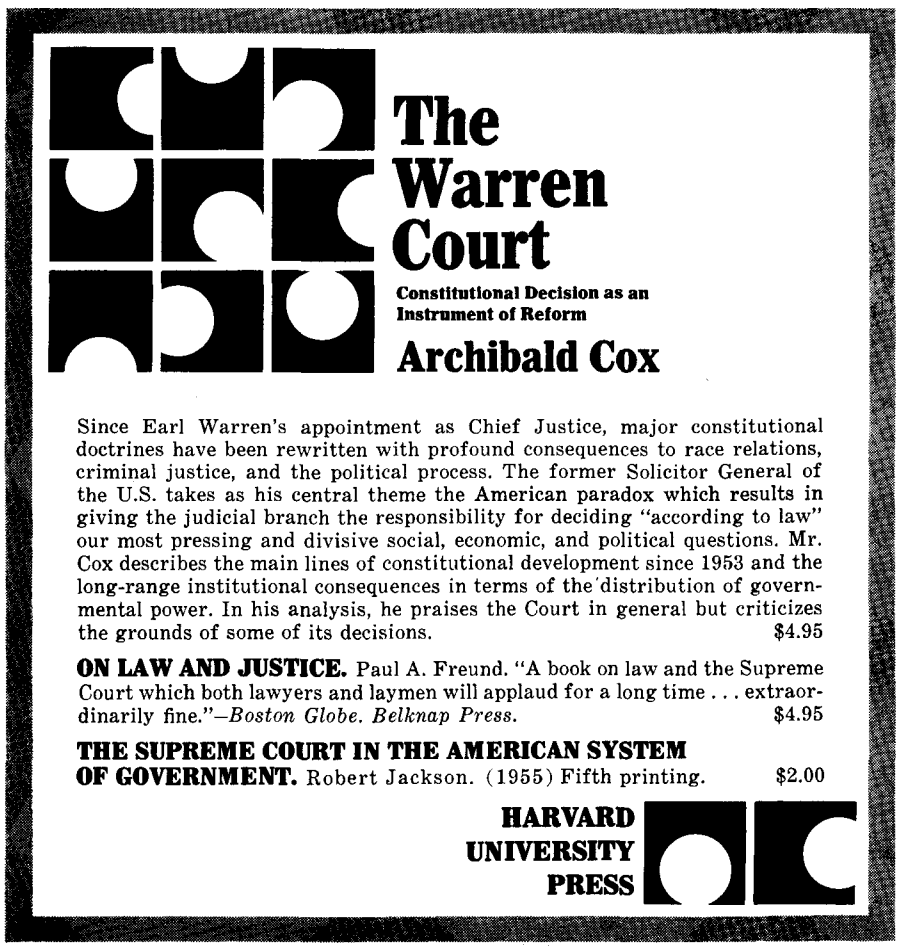
weed Factor), in Nathanael West and in *Cat Ballou* turning the Western to farce, most significantly in Kesey's removing the West to a madhouse entente between red man and white against the normal world (*One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest)*, he sees the saving evolution of the Western. It is a simultaneous return to and extension of D. H. Lawrence's vision of a New Race in America, the moral paradigm of which is male companionship (as in Natty Bumppo and Chingachgook) rather than the petticoated domestication of the Pocahontas and John Smith affair. Deriving as it does from Thoreau's "waking dream," the Myth of the West becomes for Fiedler something like the Code of the West – a value to be preserved and refurbished. His book ends with this prophetic envoy:

> "If a myth of America is to exist in the future, it is incumbent on our writers, no matter how square and scared they may be in their deepest hearts, to conduct with the mad just such a dialogue as their predecessors learned long ago to conduct with the aboriginal dwellers in the actual Western Wilderness. It is easy to forget, but essential to remember, that the shadowy creatures living scarcely imaginable lives in the forests of Virginia once seemed as threatening to all that good Europeans believed as the acidhead or the borderline schizophrenic on the Lower East Side now seems to all that good Americans have come to believe in its place."

The mad or psychedelic hero becomes the New Savage, a bastion of resistance to WASPs, the Bourgeois, Kultur, and Castrating Woman. That is probably true enough, but it is scarcely the truth. Being himself a man, a Jew, an artist, and at least a symbolic renegade, Fiedler gives the uncomfortable impression of an apologist riding hobby horses into his univocal mythic sunset. One may be partial to hobby horses, but his are too exclusive and arbitrary and are also masked as scientific conclusions. The madness that he sees as a peculiar extension of the American Western myth is really part of a much larger thing that comes from an Absurdist imagination to be seen in such Europeans as Genet or Peter Weiss. Fiedler's general insight about madness as metaphor is true, but it isn't the logical conclusion of an American mythology; it is an Absurd attempt, not to resaddle old myths but destroy them, exorcise them through ridicule. Madhouse literature is not extending the Myth of the West, but assaulting it, trying to kill, not merely "scotch," that age-old snake of Euro-American moral ignorance.

Were it not locked into its dialectic, Fiedler's moral vision would allow much more for the future of American myth. He stops with our cultural "others" – the Indian, the Negro, the Jew – but he might well have included all who are in need of America's peculiar brand of salvation, the salvation that destroys (Hue: "We had to destroy the city to save it."). He tells us to look for our new Indian bogey in the psychedelic scene, but why not in Vietnam, or China or even on Mars? For implicit in Fiedler's argument is the warning that our mythologies destroy whatever obstructs their manifest destiny. We destroyed the Indians by being stronger, and isn't our real moral danger that we are already stronger than anybody on earth?

Well, one wants always to ride his own hobby horses. So Fiedler will probably not have the last word on this subject, and if he did I suspect he would regard his book as a failure. More importantly, he has found the trail that anyone wanting to go West – *i.e.*, wanting to connect the American imagination's present with its past and future – must follow. And, as usual, he has written true things imaginatively. As usual, his readers and critics will wrangle with him. As usual, that doesn't matter; because no matter how fast and loose one may think him, he has served once more to illuminate remote dimensions of the human imagination's infinitely deep well.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The Religious Revolution

by William Hamilton

Four elements of the religious revolution in the land can be located. First, there is the experience of living in the time of the death of God. Assurances that the death of God theology is dead, or a dead end, or a kind of journalistic hubris, are premature and false. What came to the death of God theologians themselves with a kind of horrified surprise, came to the college generation as a confirmation of what they already intuitively knew, and they are asking now how they can live with this reality that cannot be exorcised by redefinitions, returns, or anger.

The Underground Church
Edited by Malcolm Boyd
(Sheed & Ward; $4.95)

Next there is the Black Power movement, understood as a partial secularization of the early, black-Protestant-based civil rights movement. Partial: because Malcolm X was a victim of a religious war, because James Baldwin can still speak of the Jesus whom the churches forgot, because Stokely Carmichael still has a hold on a secular, revolutionary Jesus.

Then, there is an amorphous, emerging mysticism. This is seen not only in the return, this past fall and winter, of the hippies from their not-so-privileged urban sanctuaries to school and to politics, but more significantly, if opaquely, in that large universe of discourse somehow shared by Norman O. Brown, Alan Watts, drugs, the Beatles, Marshall McLuhan and Norman Mailer.

Finally, with these three striking against and overlapping each other, we have a fourth element in this inchoate revolution that can be called the rise (or descent?) of the underground church, and this is what this book is about.

It is a collection of essays by many hands, informal and journalistic. It is important, but not uniformly good, more a publisher's book than a writer's. The editor, Malcolm Boyd, can't write a dull sentence. In his hands "underground church" is not a way of making the old church "relevant" or "involved," but a genuine alternative to it. For the most part, he wishes the old church nothing but ill.

"Underground church" should be sharply distinguished from "church renewal," though not all of the book's contributors would agree. By church renewal I mean, in part, the relevance game; New prayers in Modern Speech; God is for real; Jesus is what's happening; rock and roll in the basement; modern dance on the altar. As such, "renewal" is often a counterrevolutionary tactic to make the old church look better than it really is.

The underground church movement is after bigger game. It proposes something really new, and if this means the death of the old, so be it. The movement appears to be built on two specific recent experiences: a positive experience of genuine community found, across racial and religious lines, in the midst of suffering and action in the racial and anti-war struggles; and, a pervasive negative experience that might be called "the death of Sunday" – a loss of confidence and interest in the church's traditional liturgical and institutional shapes.

In this book, men and women, Protestants and Catholics, blacks and whites, recount their hopes and their actual experiences of making it in new kinds of religious communities at the edge of and outside the church. "Inside the church there is no salvation." Here is bitterness and anger, gaiety and buoyance, criticism and creativity. Daniel Berrigan is here, so is James Groppi; James Woodruff has a superb religious interpretation of Black Power. This is the material from which our religious revolution is being fashioned. The underground churchmen are helping to give our blurred evolution an emerging clarity and voice.

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The Snares of Meaning

by William H. Gass

So Much Nearer is I. A. Richards' first book on language, teaching, and related problems since 1955 when *Speculative Instruments* appeared. Richards is older, but he is unchanged. He is still a zealous reformer, anxious to promote communication-understanding-learning, anxious to save us from the duplicities of words, the snares of meaning, even if that requires setting a few snares of his own. He remains a tireless, tiresome teacher, brilliant but boring because he's so persistent. He not only teaches in prose, he teaches in something called rhyme.

So Much Nearer
Essays Toward a World English
by I. A. Richards
(Harcourt, Brace & World; $7.50)

Be it not forgot, if we'd conceive a mind
The purest model in our speech we'd find:
Speech whose swift beat is borne upon our breath
Doing its best to mitigate our death,
Taking the breezes blowing where they list,
Settling when they lapse, biding the tryst,
Weeting unwitting of the how and why
Within the WHAT its words are wielded by.

This effort (mostly directed against Noam Chomsky) has two parts and twenty-two stanzas, of which I have quoted the last, and it must surely be the most inadvertently funny poem since Ebenezer Cooke yielded innocence to his muse to write the Marylandiad.

Nit picking and hectoring, Richards keeps a faithful eye on his laudably humane ideals and, also, on his own books, which he quotes from frequently. One who would be clear, he employs a vulgar and oppressive jargon whenever, it almost seems, he remembers to, and sails over difficult terrain like a cloud.

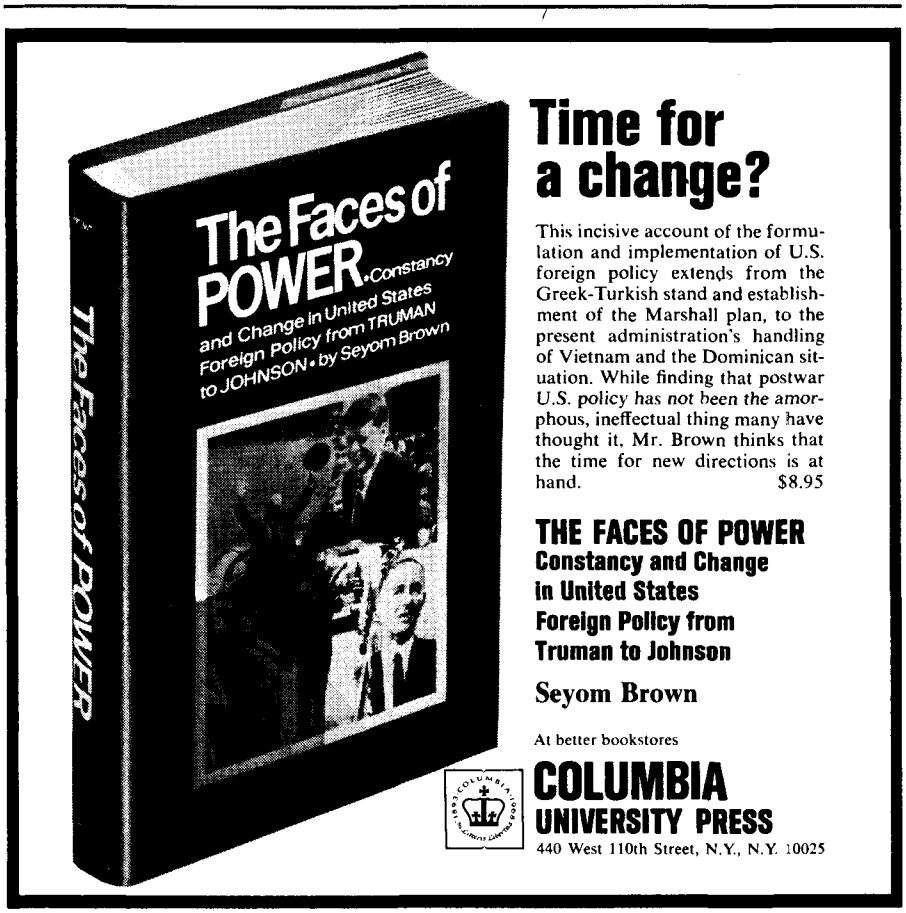
In the interests of clarity, too, he rings his words, sometimes, with those warning superquotes which he proposed for the first time in 1942, and provides a key to these at the beginning of the book. For instance, a word eared like ˢʷthisˢʷ

> ". . . indicates that the reader is invited to consider Something that may be said With. The marks are short for "Something said With." It is useful when we need to remind ourselves of the very different things that may be meant by the words we are using."

Such clarity is blinding. Scattered over a page these marks are pepper in the eyes.

Richards' knowledge and his wisdom, both considerable, are usually disconnected, like the butterfly collector who nets nothing but birds. Tyrannized by several fixed ideas, he is as overcome by his eagerness to do good as Pamela was before the lustful advances of Lord B.; and although in *The Meaning of Meaning* or *The Principles of Literary Criticism* different dogs pulled the sled, the sled is the same, and it is still taking the serum to Nome. If I said he was a brilliant crank, would that be too severe? Well, what is Richards working on presently? It's called, he tells us, *Design for Escape: World Education, Through English, Through TV, Now.*

The ten essays, accompanied by head and hind notes, examine once again the problems of meaning, especially as these are related to the needs of language instruction and machine teaching, here at home first, then worldwide. They serve to remind us of the principle subjects he has undertaken in a distinguished long career. There is one on poetry, for instance, one regarding Mencius, one on Basic English. The most important of these, the most characteristic, the most misleading, is called *Some Glances at Cur-*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rent Linguistics, and it's largely a polemic against Chomsky.

Chomsky wonders how we can understand contextless sentences (like "John was in haste to bite Joan") as well as we do; how we are able to create and comprehend an indefinite number of novel sentences ("Our economy ought to be based on the sand dollar," for example); or how we can account, grammatically, for differences between sentences like "John is easy to please" and "Jack is eager to please" without introducing a distinction between *surface structure* and *deep structure*, since, although traditional grammar permits us to recognize no differences here, the formal differences are profound. We can rewrite the first as "It is easy to please John," while we cannot, in the same way, rewrite the second, for that would yield "It is eager to please Jack," with its empty and baffling pronoun. Traditional methods cannot easily discern ambiguity either, as in the sentence: "The police were ordered to stop drinking after midnight." Chomsky argues that the surface structure determines only the physical appearance of the sentence, while the deep structure determines its semantic interpretation. He needs to suppose an ideal speaker (you can't grasp the rules of golf by watching the play of a cheater), and he wants to avoid the question-begging dimness of a natural language faculty by replacing it with the actual mechanisms of sentence construction. You perhaps remember diagramming sentences in school. How exciting it was! Now we must think of such diagrams as pairs, one above the water of the sentence's sound, as it were, with another, different, more profound, like a gulf-stream, beneath it.

The theory of generative grammar, though young, is already subtle and complex, and it would be pointless and futile here to describe its methods and assumptions, or try to demonstrate the justice or injustice of Richards' complaints. It may be useful to notice, however, what his complaints are, for they show us something of the way he works. First, "Chomsky often writes chiefly for Chomsky" (in Honest if not Basic English: Richards finds him hard to understand), yet because Richards does not lay out the position he is attacking clearly, he himself is unclear; second, the theory is a servant of the computer and he ungraciously persists in this charge in the face of Chomsky's recognized denial of it; third, he objects to the distinction between deep and surface structures because (a) it supports a formal account (b) the distinction has been made before (Chomsky himself bows to Humboldt and Wittgenstein), and (c) psychologists recognize the difference, but more adequately, because they refer its apprehension to a soul, or mind; fourth, the notion of an ideally competent or fluent speaker is a "crazy construct"; and fifth (clearly the most decisive), the theory of generative grammar is no aid to the way Richards teaches reading, and he wants help *now*, with the world in flames. Chomsky should beat his linguistics into ploughshares.

Here is an example of Richards' method of disposing of problems: he quotes one text as claiming "All languages are capable of incorporating the lexical additions they require," and replies, "'Capable,' h'm; 'require,' ha! Their reference is to computers." In much the same manner did Dr. Johnson refute Berkeley.

Yet Richards sees a great future in programmed teaching, especially of reading, and he conceives such instruction as going on in serial steps and in terms of binary oppositions ("the book is *here*," "the hat is *there*") – ideal, as he's aware, for computer treatment. Although he mentions and accepts many of the standard objections to machines as teaching devices, and would restrict their use, he tends to be indulgent at this point (for the world's on fire). The difficulty with machines is not that they have no "minds"; it's that they have no bodies – bellies, loins – no wills, doubts, hesitations, furies. We cannot see the machine so childishly refuting Berkeley. Creative thought and constructive reading seldom proceed serially or by means of simple oppositions (and I think Richards would agree), nor do we properly read with a thing we call reason – only. Reading and writing ought to be activities of the entire person, the whole body, and perhaps they're best taught that way. Unless, we're in such an all-fired hurry.

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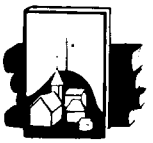

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Growing Up as Pritchett

by Lawrence Graver

Autobiographers often find it necessary to court and hoard their eccentrics, but V. S. Pritchett seems to have been born into a family in which idiosyncrasy is the only measure of the normal. *A Cab at the Door* (a memoir of the years 1900-1920) is most immediately satisfying as a bright parade of comic grotesques organized by a writer shrewd enough to mingle affection with irony and distance.

A Cab at the Door: A Memoir
by V. S. Pritchett
(Random House; $5.95)

His paternal grandfather appears in the opening pages as a young artilleryman firing a cannonball through the mainsail of a pleasure yacht during gunnery practice, and then later as an iron-minded Congregationalist minister in Yorkshire, preaching sermons which are blunt, rational, contemptuous, and unpopular. Grandfather Martin, a more shadowy figure, finds his employer dead at a desk, carries the body to a carriage, props it up in a respectable attitude, and drives dutifully home to the widow. A short while later, he himself expires. Uncle Arthur, a sullen, argumentative atheist, finds his enchantment with Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* an inadequate defense against that "ruinous drift to religion" which overcomes all Northerners, and ends deep in theosophy and spiritualism. A neighbor, the merry, big-breasted Mrs. O'Dwyer, reads aloud from Racine, boxes wildly with her teenage sons, and cries out for beer when knocked sprawling on her bottom. Back home, Beatrice Martin Pritchett, the author's mother, sulks at the meanness of her domestic chores, yet never loses her splendid capacity for laughter and that Cockney articulateness which reveals itself in such tags as "two-faced Wesleyan" and "Hallelujah, keep your hands off."

But by far the most fantastic and fully realized character in the book is Walter Sawdon Pritchett, the rogue hero of his son's life story. As the first of the newly emancipated generation breaking from the dour, God-ridden Yorkshire heritage, Walter plays an active role in the mercantile affairs of the South. But the arc of his life swings almost daily from "disaster to new enterprise" and back again. Compared several times to Mr. Micawber, Walter combines optimism and irrepressible gaiety with an absolute lack of talent for the kind of organizational thoughtfulness required in business. He fails with spectacular calm and regularity; each time the family waits stoically for the familiar "cab at the door" to ferry them to a new life. Perpetual voyagers, they move eighteen times before young Victor reaches twelve. And yet, despite the alarming evidence of those splendid corrective agents – the facts – Walter retains his capacity for heroic mercantile dreams. Protean, elusive, unpredictable, he inspires adoration and disgust in all his children. Victor, enraged by the philistine's inability to understand his desire to paint and write, nevertheless loves the man's magic, his genius for exotic new roles. There is, the boy comes to recognize, just a bit of the artist in his old man. Suspicious of hard facts, Walter loves theatricality, and has a natural affinity for religions which mix mysticism with a certain self-conscious strut. After rejecting his Congregationalist heritage, he becomes a Baptist, a Wesleyan, a Methodist, and finally, most happily, a Christian Scientist. At a particularly low moment in business, he transforms himself into Sawdon Pritchett, managing director of Art Needlework Manufacturers; and later, joining with a mysterious associate, Miss H, he manages through bluster and perseverance to make his mark.

The skill of his son's portrait rests not only in the ability to dramatize the gaudy farce of domestic life, but in the refusal to indict the man despite a head and a heart full of evidence. Without a doubt, Walter exposed the family to the most aggressive and passive forms of his egotism; but in the closing pages of the memoir, Pritchett concludes:

> "Right up to the day of his death, in his eighties, none of us children could settle our view of him. It was simple to call him the late Victorian dominant male without whose orders no one could think or move. It was only partly true that he was a romantic procrastinator, egoist and dreamer, for he was a very calculating man. . . . Sometimes we saw him as a pocket Napoleon, but he never even tried to obtain the wealth or power he often talked about. . . .
>
> "A clue was given to us, after his death, by Miss H, who had long ago broken with him, as people did. She knew our quarrels well. The central passion of his life, she said, was for his children. Yes – that, I now see, was true. He was in many ways far more female than he was male. He was one of those fathers who are really mothers; he had a mother's primitive, possessive and jealous love and, indeed, behaved

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as if he and not our mother – who was not possessive at all – had given birth to us. He wished to preserve us for himself. He could not bear us to be out of his sight."

Against this broad background of histrionic family life, Pritchett tells the story of his own development as a boy and future writer. The major formative influences were hereditary: from the moralists of Yorkshire, he inherited a gift for irony and broad ethical generalization; from the pagan storytellers of the South, an eye for comic portraiture. But the environment made its powerful impression, too; and Pritchett catches, with enviable deftness, the vulnerability of Edwardian England: "stuffed, quilted, and cushioned" for the rich; "so mean and bitterly exacting for the struggling, small man, so wretched for the poor." Some of the most animated sections in the book describe Victor constantly being shuttled from city to suburb, suffering at a new school, or trying to master the rituals of the leather trade. In London streets he is awestruck by human rhythms, but vexed by pictures on hoardings and alarmed by the suspected presence of Jack the Ripper.

At Rosendale Road Grammar, he falls under the influence of Mr. Bartlett, who substitutes the latest *English Review* for the literature text and assigns Impressionist exercises to the painters. Ambition flares. Going to bed at night he asks God to make him poet laureate "before twenty-one." At the more exclusive Alleyn's School in Dulwich, we watch him learn the first duty of the aspiring novelist: "to become someone else"; and he wins great praise for writing the story of an air-raid from his mother's point of view. Working in the leather company from fifteen to eighteen during World War I, he learns to contend with crustiness, boredom, and erotic titillation, that curious mixture so common to office life. But for the past seven years, he has been engrossed in *Gems* and *Magnets*, Ruskin, Marie Corelli, Shakespeare, W. J. Locke, Byron and Maurice Hewlett – the ragged curriculum of the autodidact. When a night school teacher commends his essay on Milton, he is on his way.

Gradually, through the veil of domestic hazard and muddled impulse, an attractively formed, resilient young man of twenty emerges. He does not, in this volume, force himself on our attention. He acts less often than he is acted upon; and, for his money, the external spectacle is the thing. He is already becoming the observer, learning to exercise that quality of calculated self-disregard which he would someday call "essential for the novelist." His story is not a portrait of the artist as a young man, but the account of a boy who will someday become a professional writer. Hints of his later, more celebrated, self do come through: a story-teller's gift for mimicry and sympathetic identification, an extrovert's openness to experience, a critic's genius for using irony as a weapon of discrimination. When the book ends, he is off to peddle – among other things – glue and ostrich feathers for seven years in Paris. It is impossible not to wish him a quick return.

MUSIC

Deeper Than Jazz

It is typical of young black musicians that they have not debated their problem in formal forums or published lengthy treatises on esthetics and politics, but rather harry each other in private conversation about the bars they work in, the audiences they work before, the musicians they work with. One hears phrases and remarks nowadays like "Africanizing the music," "taking it on home," "owning my own product," "nobody would think of asking Horowitz to play on a ragged piano like that," and "why do they call it jazz anyway? Why can't they just call it music?"

A musician like Milford Graves assiduously studies percussive techniques from all over the non-Western world, with a particular emphasis on African and Afro-Cuban bata drumming. In an E.S.P. recording, Graves joins another young drummer and produces a percussive dissertation which is at once strong and subtle, powerful, but without the bombast that we ordinarily get in extended drum exercises. Other musicians use traditional African instruments such as the lukembi or the thumbharp, for orchestral effect. Sun Ra, a fortyish composer and mystic, is a leader in this. He is a pioneer in the weaving of esoteric instrumental sounds into a traditional base for a total tonal fabric with unsurpassed richness in the variety of effects achieved. His orchestra (which included over 100 in a Central Park concert last summer) dress in traditional African robes, with the leader's outdoing them all. They walk around the darkened stage as they blow, lights attached by long strings to their caps, flitting around like lightning bugs.

When the musicians talk about taking their music home, they mean, as Claude McKay put it, home to Harlem, where there is almost no serious music at all. In the first place, radio stations almost never play avant-garde black music. For at least 20 years the main audience for this music has been outside the black community, in the Greenwich Villages of America. There are several reasons for the failure of jazz in Harlem, most of them having to do with the general decline of night clubs. But the downtown scene has not worked out for the black avant-

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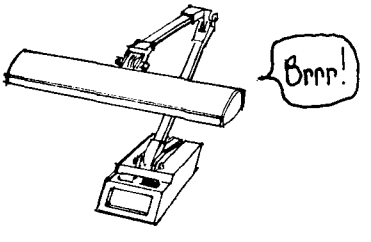

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garde musician either. There are only five modern jazz rooms in downtown New York that have functioned for three or more years, and these most often hire the bigger names. But "taking it on home" means more than looking for a way out of the financial trap downtown. If the new militancy is not lost on black basketball players, it certainly is not lost on black artists. Thus, politically conscious Afro-American musicians despair of seeing only white faces before them every time they pick up their horns. At a time when so many voices are calling on creative black people to apply their talents in the ghetto, the musician can't help wondering if art for art's sake isn't a luxury he can't afford.

As a result, there have been a number of self-produced concerts in Harlem. The Gotham Jazz Society, which consists of a man I know only as Big George, recently put on a highly successful series of weekend concerts featuring Milford Graves, pianist Andrew Hill, Sun Ra, and saxophonist Robin Kenyatta. And at a benefit for LeRoi Jones held this January at the Renaissance Ballroom, Graves, Sun Ra, saxophonists Jackie McLean and Pharaoh Saunders and several other musicians shared the stage with Jones, Rap Brown, Dick Gregory and a who's who in Black Power. These affairs don't provide steady jobs, but they are at least steps toward making black music relevant to black people.

The musicians have a pride which is far in excess of their income. They believe their music is at least as strong as contemporary Western "serious" music, insofar as they think about Western music at all. Cecil Taylor, a brilliant composer and an unbelievable keyboard improvisor, thinks about Western music quite a lot, and although he is jealous of his Afro-American musical roots, he sees himself in competition with the Stockhausens and Boulezes and Cages of the music world, though he probably wouldn't admit it. So it infuriates Taylor to have to face those out-of-tune barroom upright pianos, while third-rate classical pianists get grands. Cecil often compares his hero, the late Bud Powell, to a famous classical pianist who has severe mental problems. The classical pianist was only asked to give concerts once or twice a year; when the strain was too much and a breakdown was imminent, he had the best of private psychiatric care. Bud Powell was constantly commuting between Bellevue and the night club, and there were never enough funds for the kind of care this Afro-American genius required. This for Taylor is symbolic of the place of "jazz" in the world of music today.

And why indeed call it "jazz"? The word has a pejorative connotation. At the time it came into popular usage, it still referred to fornication, as in the classic Jazz Me Blues. But there is a negative aptness here. Ornette Coleman once said that "90 per cent of Jazz is sex," describing the basic reason for the night club and the psychic give and take between the audience and musician. Jazz came from the New Orleans bordello; its most secure periods have been those when the vice level was at its highest. It thus suggests a strictly good-time music played by happy musicians. It evokes images of Betty Boop cartoons with tar baby Africans chasing after their decapitated heads while Louis Armstrong scats "I Ain't Got Nobody" in the background. The new black music is deep, powerful and often ugly. "Jazz" is too small a word for it.

A. B. SPELLMAN

Correspondence

The Committee

Sirs:

While HUAC deserves all the criticism our society can muster against it, Murray Kempton should be the last person to offer it – (April 13) under any guise. In his review of Walter Goodman's *The Committee*, he reveals himself as the kind of transparent liberal who can out-HUAC HUAC at the drop of a hat.

Consider his flagrantly gratuitous remark: "We have come to the time when a young man who began in government as a staff assistant to Senator Joe McCarthy and reached his summit there instructing J. Edgar Hoover in wire-tapping can be accepted as the liberal candidate for President." This is the kind of cowardly and cloudy

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accusation and distortion that HUAC at its worst could not top.

If Kempton wants to make a categorical charge, why doesn't he do so explicitly? Would he condemn forever everyone who associated with or supported Joe McCarthy – seventeen years ago? If so, what distinguishes his tactics from HUAC's? If not, why does he single out one man?

I have questions about Robert Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy, and I seek intelligent and honest insights into their characters as well as their values. But I deeply resent people like Kempton – who seem long on brass, short on acumen, and devoid of intellectual honesty – spreading their obvious distortions in my direction. Evidently he feels that if the cause is just, the tactics may be as foul as he likes.

Francis X. Trainor
Baltimore, Md.

Insurance Gumshoes

Sirs:

Stanford Sesser's article describing the activities of the Retail Credit Co. ("Big Brother Keeps Tabs on Insurance Buyers," April 27) brought back an experience still recent enough to infuriate.

Three years ago I bought a policy from a large insurance company. Before the month was out, a man slipped by the receptionist in the public agency where I was employed and roamed the building asking members of my staff questions about my personal life. Rather than reply, they suggested he ask me what he wanted to know and led him to my office. He explained that he was an investigator of Retail Credit Co., seeking information which would help determine whether I was a good insurance risk.

I wrote to the agent canceling the policy. Perhaps if more people refused to talk to snoopers, protested to companies who used such methods and refused to buy their product, some dent can be made in a system which works because people will cooperate. . . .

Edith B. Back
Waltham, Mass.

Busted

Sirs:

Only an overdose of willfulness could make E. L. Levine (Correspondence, April 27) imagine that my article, "Busted" (March 23) calls for anything like a special academic or middle class immunity to the drug laws. Those laws – as Mr. Levine apparently agrees – are unscientific in their basis, unjust in their application, and profoundly moralistic and hypocritical in their essence. Once that has been granted, I fail to see why Mr. Levine should think that a protest against a particularly flagrant abuse of those unjust laws to intimidate a major university should "seem to be saying that enforcing laws on drugs on a campus . . . is something more terrible than enforcing drug laws against poor whites and Negroes." It seems to say no such thing, and Mr. Levine's heady vision of myself in the Brave New World of Academia, tearfully begging for special, elitist treatment while helpless Negroes and poor whites are carted to the cooler is polemical trash.

Stephen Koch
New York, N. Y.

Fit News

Sirs:

I read with interest your comment on "Fit News" in the April 27 issue. Here at Duke University, we have recently discovered that neither national newspapers nor TV networks feel any responsibility to provide balanced coverage.

After the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., students and faculty of Duke University decided that the University must lead the South towards social and economic justice. They focused their attention on the poverty wages and poor working conditions of Duke's blue-collar employees, most of whom are Negro. These employees have been receiving an average hourly wage of

Notes on Contributors

Peter Michelson *is in the Department of English at Notre Dame.* William Hamilton *is co-author with Thomas Altizer of* Radical Theology and the Death of God. William H. Gass *teaches philosophy at Purdue.* Lawrence Graver *is with the English Department at Williams.* A. B. Spellman *is the author of* Four Lives in The Bebop Business.

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$1.25, well below national poverty guidelines, and they can present grievances about working conditions only as individuals, usually without success. The non-academic employees formed a local union about three years ago, but the University has refused to recognize it or its right of collective bargaining.

In keeping with Dr. King's philosophy of non-violence, students and faculty held a continuous silent vigil for five days on Duke's main quadrangle in support of their demands for a fair wage and collective bargaining for the non-academic employees. Over 1,500 individuals joined the vigil, and many others engaged in supporting activities. Encouraged by this massive display of support, the local union called a strike, and a student-faculty boycott of the dining halls in support of the strike was judged at least 75 per cent effective.

At the present time, the issue is not yet resolved, but some progress has been made. The minimum wage of the non-academic employees will reach $1.60 by July, 1969, and wages will begin to rise towards that goal this year. The Board of Trustees has even acknowledged that worker-University relations are poor and that immediate action must be taken to ensure the non-academic employees "a sense of dignity and participation." The trustees have failed to even mention collective bargaining, however. The workers are now back at their jobs, but they are ready to strike again within the next few weeks if their demands for collective bargaining have not been recognized.

The situation here at Duke could have wide-reaching significance. Several trustees hold directorships in southern industries which have steadfastly denied collective bargaining rights to their employees. (This fact alone should indicate the difficulties which the students, faculty, and workers face to achieve their demands here at Duke.)

Coverage by the national news media has been almost non-existent, while more violent university demonstrations make front-page headlines all over the nation. NBC flatly refused to cover the vigil, *because* there was no violence; an NBC official asked students to contact him if violence erupted, and then he might be interested enough to send down cameras. Newspaper coverage, with the exception of some North Carolina papers and a small squib in the *New York Times*, has also been negligible. Letters describing the activities here were sent to over fifty newspapers across the nation, with no result. Just as newspapers select "significant news" about political candidates, (the *Durham Morning Herald* devotes little space to McCarthy because "he isn't a winner"), so do they select other types of "significant" news for the edification of the masses. Evidently, only violence is significant enough to be brought to the attention of the public.

Mary A. Mantuani
Durham, N.C.

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Kauffmann, *from page 28*

sightseeing:

> "There is only one valid kind of travel, and that is the journey toward men. . . . As for poetry, that last mineral element of travel, let it sink into the oblivion of the seas. . . . Once you have stated that there are places in which you die of cold and others in which you dry up with the heat, and that it is only possible to live easily between the two, there is not much more to be said about the poetry of earth."

Second was the questioning of his need to travel to understand himself:

> "Did I have to go to Aden to seek out the secrets of Paris? . . . But I have no regrets. These truths have stared me in the face, they were revealed in such a dazzling light that I am certain never to lose them. I was too near my end to regard them as the errors of youth. No one will ever make me believe that growing up is the answer to everything. I still think that the chances of my coming upon these truths within the walls of the Latin Quarter were slim."

Third, and contradictory, was the clarity with which he had swiftly come to see, through physical withdrawal, what was inescapable and would always be dangerous:

> "A French citizen comes back with me, or rather, there was a double waiting for me in Marseille and he fell into step with me. I am going to do everything possible to lose him. He represents everything that fell away from me when the name of my province was Hadhramaut."

This book is not a diary, it is a retrospect of experience; still we feel that at the time he was experiencing it, Nizan knew he was going through a necessary but predictable series of actions that would end, after the justification of trial and proof, where he wanted to end.

Some of the book is arrantly juvenile. The "revelations" about the vacuity of a money-chasing life are not only trite, they are shallow, as is one of Nizan's other chief themes: "All men are bored." Plenty of men are not bored, and, for many of them, life consists of making money. All of us see the world subjectively – that is, those who bother to "see" it at all; but experience makes us aware of divergences and modifications. Nizan was not yet old enough to give much weight to anything but his own reactions. It is here that Sartre's introduction serves his dead friend particularly well by putting his juvenilities in the perspective of his whole life (short as it was), of his accomplishments and his fate. *Aden, Arabie* is an imperfect but fascinating introduction to a career – appropriately imperfect considering the author's age, certainly appropriately heated by intensity and by its manifestation of what Susan Sontag calls "the venerable preoccupation with sincerity peculiar to French letters."

There is also something larger. This book is not only more than travel literature, it is more than another example of the French confessional tradition. It is a sharp instance of the revolutionary upheaval specific to France, though certainly not exclusively French, for well over a hundred years. At least some proportion of intellectual youth, often students, have been battling against the constrictions of inhuman and dehumanizing life – both bourgeois constrictions and radical disappointments – from (say) 1848 to the French and Italian and British and Czech and West German students of today. In the US the movement took somewhat longer to boil because of the newness of the country and because of professed principles of humane concern. (Although Henry James, Sr., wrote in 1853 that "democracy . . . is revolutionary, not formative. . . . Its office is rather to destroy the old world, than fully to reveal the new.") The surge of youthful revolt will always be wilder and hotter than any mechanism of politics or any organization of society can possibly be, so it will always breed its own disillusions. But that age which is "not the best time of life" has to be depended on to provide outrage and disillusion. *Aden, Arabie* is a record of a young man's discovery that the world's fact is far behind his private imagination.

Sartre says that Nizan's two novels *Antoine Bloyé* and *La Conspiration* are masterpieces. I hope we shall soon have them in English, perhaps translated by Miss Pinkham. Meanwhile, beautifully launched by Sartre, there is this book, too dismissive, too intolerant, too *young:* still a small hot flare that shows us a young man hurling himself against those same old brass-studded doors.

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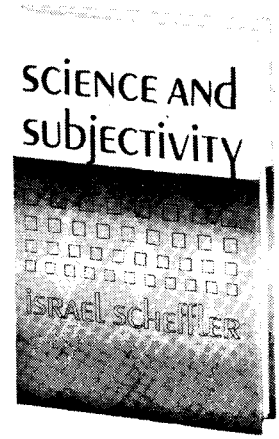

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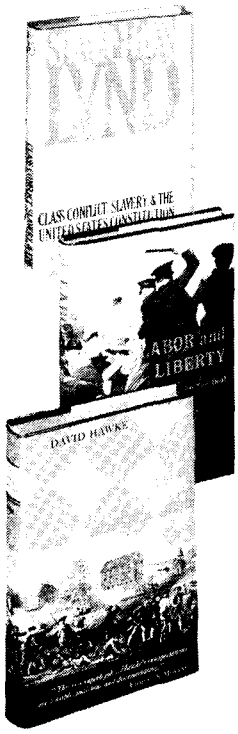

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